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JOURNAL
OF THE
PANJAB UNIVERSITY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Lahore
(Incorporating the Panjab Historical Society)

VOL. XI-12

JUNE 1960



Editorial

Baluchistan in Our History <i>Anwar Rooman</i>	..	1
Two Historic Letters <i>Dr. Zafar-ul-Islam</i>	..	7
Surrendranath Banerjee, Syed Ahmad Khan and the British Rule <i>M. M. Hashmi</i>	..	13
A Tussle for the Panjab Leadership <i>Yusaf Abbasi</i>	..	19
List of Research Work Done in the Department of History, Panjab University, Lahore	..	27
Back Numbers	..	49

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EDITORIAL BOARD



Dr. H. MONTGOMERY HYDE.

Dr. ZAFAR-UL-ISLAM.

AGHA NASIR AHMAD.

Sh. ABDUR RASHID.



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Page

Editorial	i
Baluchistan in Our History <i>Anwar Rooman</i> ..	1
Two Historic Letters <i>Dr. Zafar-ul-Islam</i> ..	7
Surrendranath Banerjee, Syed Ahmad Khan and the British Rule <i>M. M. Hashmi</i> ..	13
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EDITORIAL

This is the first number of the Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society to appear since Pakistan achieved independence as a separate State. Thirteen years have elapsed since the appearance of the last number in April 1947; and in introducing the present number, it would seem appropriate to recall something of the history of the Society and its Journal.

In 1911 a group of scholars, which included Sir John Thompson, Dr. J. P. Vogel and Mr. A.C. Woolner, Registrar and later Vice-Chancellor of the Panjab University, came together to form the Panjab Historical Society. The papers, read at its meeting, and other contributions, subsequently published in its Journal, were of a high order and enhanced the reputation of the Society beyond the borders of the sub-continent. Unfortunately the Society's early vigour was not maintained, and it suffered a steady decline during the second decade of its existence. It was eventually dissolved in 1931.

The decline of the Panjab Historical Society hastened the inception of a similar project which was already being entertained within the Panjab University and which in fact came into existence practically at the same time — the Panjab University Historical Society, to which the spirit and the surviving elements of the old society were transferred. Prominent in the new organization, which was closely associated with the Department of History in the University, were Prof. J.F. Bruce, University Professor in History, the late Mr. H. L. O. Garratt, Principal, Government College, Lahore, and Keeper of the Public Records Office of the Province and others. The aim of the Society was described in the first number of its Journal (April 1932) as "simple and definite—to promote Historical Research and, as far as possible to provide a modest venue for the publication of its results".

During the next fifteen years, a considerable number of Research Papers was presented at meetings of the Society and subsequently published. They were fully in keeping with high standard of the proceedings of the old Panjab Historical Society. For purposes of reference and convenience, a complete list of the titles and authors of all contributions in both Journals between 1911 and 1947 is included in this number.

The guiding spirit in the Journal of the Panjab Historical Society was Prof. J. F. Bruce. With his departure from the University Chair of History in 1943, the Journal was published less frequently and eventually its ceased publication altogether from 1947.

In 1956-57 the Society, which had continued to function spasmodically received a new constitution, which in effect transformed it from an exclusively scholars' body into a teachers-students body. At present the students constitute majority of its member while the teachers sit on its Executive Committee to guide and help the students. The publications of the Society continue to be responsibility of an Editorial Board consisting of the members of the Post-Graduate Teaching Staff. The resuscitation of the Journal in its present form has been possible because of the personal interest taken by certain members of teaching staff and the appointment of a permanent Head of the History Department in the University.

The Editorial Board aim at publishing the Journal, if possible, twice yearly. At the same time it is hoped to attract contributions from teachers and professional historians as well as from students at the post-Graduate and the research level.

BALUCHISTAN IN OUR HISTORY

BY

Mr. M. ANWAR ROOMAN, M.A.,

Government College, Quetta.

On the 15th August, 1947, I stood in my lecture room pondering over the potentialities of the new country that had fallen to our lot. Looking towards the forbidding appearance of Murdar Range on the horizon, I remarked to myself, "Had there been something useful in these mountains, the English must have exploited that". And yet, within 7 years, we discovered a vast deposit of gas at Sui which would suffice to feed our industries for more than 100 years. A remarkable wealth, indeed. Similar is the case with the history of Baluchistan.

Apparently it seems that Baluchistan has always been a dry mass of land shared by mountains and deserts which have conspired to keep it under populated. It has hindered the human beings who have decided to stay here in overcoming Nature and they are doomed for ever in this wilderness of decay and death. It has been a highway of the great conquerors and successive migratory tribes and communities that had to cross this lifeless desert to approach the alluvial plains formed by the Himalayan rivers. Life and time have remained motionless and the persisting nomadic life thrusts it self in our view in all its directions. This is all what we have been reading (and occasionally seeing) about it since long and the impression is so deep seated that we have not been able to delete it or even modify it. Our high-ups in historical research, even after 13 precious years of independence, have been more concerned, if not wholly concerned, with the figures and movements of the areas that have been included in Bharat. No serious attempts have been made to discover the human and ideal truths hidden in the soil of this country and particularly Baluchistan has been by-passed as a border area where the people are shift in their loyalties.

This attitude is not an out come of ignorance, but, more correctly, it is due to negligence for Baluchistan is what Man has made it. The British always treated it with indifference. To them it was simply a liability which

had to be tolerated willy nilly due to its strategic importance. The Provincial Autonomy—the so-called highest boon of the British regime though far short of our national aspirations—was denied to it and one of the British superintendents of Education, J. Leitch Wilson, would not even let this area have its own Intermediate College. Only a higher secondary school was enough. Very little was done to tap the water resources to facilitate agriculture. All this has changed to a great extent after 1947 and much expansion has taken place in matters political, educational and economic but the Pakistani scholars have been indifferent to Pakistan uptil now. Needless to say that the histories being written in Pakistan are only Pakistani in name and Indian in character speaking little about Baluchistan. Be it *Tarikh-e-Mussalman-an-e-Pakistan-o-Bharat* (Urdu) of Sayyad Hashimi Faridabadi or short history of Hind-Pakistan prepared by Pakistan History Board in 1955 the same old figures and movements, so familiar in Indian history, are being varnished and re-interpreted. It is seldom that we come across any lively interest in the territory of Pakistan itself. I do not deny the utility of re-interpretation for national resurgence but, probably, love of this country is more important for this resurgence and love cannot be inspired unless we understand the country which we have to make the object of our love. If this sorry state of affairs continues we shall never be able to reconstruct our society on a realistic basis.

My purpose here is not to detail the history of this region but simply to touch upon certain features of Baluchistani history to provoke thought and arouse interest of the fellow-students and scholars in ancient, medieval and modern periods.

In the pre-historic age, before the emergence of Indus Valley Culture in about 3000 B.C., there existed small peasant communities in Zhob Valley, Quetta Valley, Nal, Kulli etc. They were self-sufficient, small city states which later on merged into the Indus Valley culture. They were the earliest seats of human culture in this country and if systematic excavation is continued, yet more fruitful results may come to our hands. The discovery of these cultures is the most precious achievement of archaeologists like Sir John Marshall; Stuart Piggott, the writer of "Pre-historic India" and Dr. R.E.M. Wheeler, the author of "Five Thousand Years of Pakistan" etc., and by far the noblest gift of British scholarship to us.

Quite a good number of the Communities that today compose the population of West Pakistan are originally the inhabitants of this region

e.g. the Brauhuis who are 300,000 strong, are the makers of Kalat State and its permanent inhabitants. The Balochs, who penetrated this area in 15th and 16th century, joined with the Brauhuis to develop Kalat State and later on spread to the present Marri-Bugti area and Sind where they are the single largest community besides Bahawalpur and Southern Panjab where they are quite considerable. While these racial elements came from outside, the Pathans, 300,000 strong, have their cradle in Suleiman mountains and river Zhob known to the medieval muslim historians as Zab while their area was called Zabulistan. All these three elements claim to be Semites and there is no reason why this traditional belief of these people should be rejected or disapproved merely on linguistic grounds. These three combined form about 30% population of West Pakistan. Then there is the community of Jats which mostly inhabits the former Panjab and is probably the majority community in West Pakistan constituting about 35% of its population. Who are these people? Where from did they spread into this Country? Was it through Khyber Pass? Probably no, because in that case they would not have settled in Kachhi district. It is definite that they were not one of the Aryan stock. They were neither Bactrians nor Parthians. Who else could they be? The British historians, steeped in so many prejudices and with a strong tinge of Aryanism in their brains, included them in Aryan group. I have studied the problem many times and from different angles and I am inclined to accept the older theory that they were the Scythians or Sakas whose large hordes moved down from Central Asia into the land which came to be called Sakastan (Modern Sistan) and from there marched and settled into Baluchistan in the vicinity of second century B.C. Here they lived for about six centuries mixing with the aboriginies, the remnants of Indus Valley Culture, probably the Dravidians. Near about 6th century A.C. the Brauhuis swarmed into the land and inter-mixed with them. In 15th and 16th centuries the Baloch migrations took place and they came into conflict with the Brauhui state of Kalat which was in the offing but soon after they were reconciled with their kinsmen and turned to the rich plains of Sind and Panjab. A part of the Balochs decided to remain here in alliance with the Brauhuis for ever and both combined to drive out the Jats. In this tug of war, the Jats moved towards Sind leaving their pockets in Kachhi. The Balochs would not allow them to stay there. They, therefore, were cut up into two parts. One moved towards Rajputana and passing through it, settled in Bharatpur, etc., until they were absorbed in Hindu Society and, in the days of Aurangzeb, wreaked their vengeance upon Muslims under Suraj Mal.

The other section moved northwards to Multan where they were sufficiently powerful in 18th century. They seem to have accepted Islam by now but even then they were not allowed any rest by the Balochs who had, in the meanwhile, captured Marri Bugti area, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzafargarh and Multan. This again sent them on travels and a substantial number in Central Panjab embraced Sikhism and became a terrific anti-Muslim force.

I do not guarantee the accuracy of these links but these conclusions, however, tentative they might be, are worthy of serious consideration and I invite the scholars to probe into the problem. At least I am sure that the Jats entered this land through Bolan Pass and their first home was Baluchistan where they still survive as Jadgals having their own dialect Jadgali or Jatki.

In 9th century A.C. (3rd century A.H.) when Mahmud had not yet flashed across the Indian stage and when only Baluchistan and Sind were within the orbit of Islam, Baluchistan was not merely a military area but a great cultural zone with Persian as its literary medium. In the town of Khuzdar to the south of Kalat there flourished Rabia, the great Persian Poetess, the Qurrat-ul-Aiyin of Baluchistan, whose existence speaks volumes about the literary standard that this region had achieved. She was a contemporary of Rudaki, the first great Persian Poet, and both, it is said, rivalled each other in excellence of composition and themes. How rich our literature would be when we are able to discover her poems and lyrics; how grand it is to think that Rabia and Rudaki were the founders of classical school of Persian poetry in Khuzdar and Bukhara respectively.

In the modern age, the history of Baluchistan is replete with deeds of bravery on the part of individuals and movements against the British. Pakistan Historical Society has been studying the Muslim freedom movements in the sub-continent for a number of years and though their findings are not yet known, I am afraid they might have left out Baluchistan as having no "History". I followed the question a few years back and realized that the Baluchistanies thrice stood against the British—First under Mir Mirhab Khan of Kalat who died fighting in 1839 just after the First Afghan War, second under Ghulam Hussain Masoori Bugti in 1867 when he brought 1200 armed men against them and fought to the last and fell along with 257 men and third in Fort Sandeman area in Zhob under Ajmer Khan, Mando Khel. Of these I was particularly struck by Ghulam Hussain. Muqaddam (headman) as he was of the Masoori branch of Bugties, he

ventured to defy the British who, besides their own formidable war machine, had conscripted the support of tribal Sardar Ghulam Murtaza Khan as well as that of Leghari, Mazari, Gurchani and Tibbi Lund Chiefs. To me he has always appealed more than Mir Qasim and Sultan Tipu who fought the British with the resources of their respective states while Ghulam Hussain and his followers were just common men having nothing on their side but their spirit of independence, indomitable will and a glorious cause. Even Hafiz Rahmat Khan Rohilla stands eclipsed before him because he had his whole community at his back while Ghulam Hussain was opposed by his own tribesmen. In my opinion he is to be rivalled by only Shah Ismail Shahid who died a martyr's death at Balakot in 1831 fighting against the Sikhs.

Coming to the recent period of our history, we find that Nawabzada Yusuf Ali Khan Aziz Magassi (1908-35) was in touch with Maulana Mohammed Ali Jauhar and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan etc. Himself a poet of no mean calibre, he was almost a devotional student of Allama Iqbal. He was day and night worried about the Baluch up'ift and he achieved a good deal of his mission during his tumandari or Chiefship.

These are just a few glimpses from the vast treasure house of history of Baluchistan. Probably this is not within the power of a humble student like me to unearth this whole treasure—house. Unless our high-ups in the field of research look into this area and unless we secure the co-operation of educated Baluchistanis we may never know the splendour that is Baluchistan. In fact a full fledged Board of scholars conversant with the local languages and cultures alone will be able to do the needful.



TWO HISTORIC LETTERS

BY

DR. ZAFAR-UL-ISLAM

1. *Mohsin-ul-Mulk's letter to Archbold*

The acceptance, in principle, of Muslim demands for separate electorates by Lord Minto in October, 1906, was perhaps the most important and epoch-making event which led to the development of Muslim political separatism in the sub-continent.

The "Nationalist" historians have maintained that the organization of the deputation was undertaken by Mohsin-ul-Mulk at the behest of authorities. Mr. Archbold, Principal of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, is held responsible for pulling wires at Simla and thus a betting the grand imperialistic design of dividing the Muslims against Hindus.

Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar, presiding over the Indian National Congress in 1923 recalled the events of 1906 in the following words :—

".....there is no harm in now saying that the deputation was a 'command' performance ! It is clear that Government could no longer resist the demands of educated Indians, and, as usual, it was about to dole out to them a morsel that would keep them gagged for some years. *Hitherto* the Muslims had acted very much like the Irish prisoner in the dock who, in reply to the Judge's enquiring whether he had any counsel to represent him in the trial, had frankly replied that he had 'friends in jury' ! But now the Muslims' friends in the jury had themselves privately urged that the accused should engage duly qualified counsel like all others."¹

Later Tufail Ahmad published an Urdu translation of a letter written by Archbold to Mohsin-ul-Mulk on the 10th of August, 1906 :

"Colonel Dunlop Smith, Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy, informs me that His Excellency is agreeable to receive the Muslim Deputation. He advises that a formal letter requesting permissions

to wait on His Excellency be sent to him. In this connection, I would like to make a few suggestions.....”.

Retranslating this letter into English, the *Sapru* Committee commented : “It is now a matter of common knowledge that this deputation was not altogether spontaneous but was inspired by Simla”¹.

The “Nationalists” have too readily relied upon Archbold’s letter (of August 10th) and hastily arrived at the conclusion that Mohsin-ul-Mulk played his hand as dictated by the authorities. A little thought, however, makes it clear that the opening of Archbold’s letter is not spontaneous. It is evident that Archbold contacted the Private Secretary to the Viceroy and was informed that His Excellency would agree to receive a Muslim deputation. Obviously this part of Archbold’s letter is in response to a query made by his correspondent. As a matter of fact, Mohsin-ul-Mulk had addressed the following letter to Archbold on August 4, 1906 from Bombay :

“My dear Mr. Archbold,

You must have read and thought over Mr. John Morely’s speech on the Indian Budget. It is very much talked of among the Mohammedans in India, and is commonly believed to be a great success achieved by the “National Congress”

You are aware that the Mohammedans already feel a little disappointed, and young educated Mohammedans seem to have a sympathy for the “Congress”; and this speech will produce a greater sympathy in them to join the “congress.”²

Although there is little reason to believe that any Mohammedans, except the young educated ones, will join that body, there is still a general complaint on their part that we (Aligarh people) take no part in politics, and do not safeguard political rights of Mohammedans; they say we do not suggest any plans for preserving their rights, and practically do nothing for the Mohammedans beyond asking for funds to help the College. *I have got several letters drawing attention particularly to the new proposal of “elected representatives” in the legislative councils*³. They say that existing rules confer no rights on Mohammedans, and no Mohammedans get into the councils by election; every now and then Government nominates

1. Sapru Committee; Constitutional Proposals of the Sapru Committee p. 101.

2. The Muslim opposition to the Indian National Congress had started in 1886.

3. In this connection the letters from Haji Muhammed Ismail and from Viqar ul Mulk demand special attention.

a stray Mohammedan or two by kindness, not, however, on the ground of his ability, but of his position who is neither fit to discharge his duties in the council, nor is he considered a true representative of his community. If the new rules now to be drawn up introduce "election" on a more extended scale, the Mohammedans will hardly get a seat, while Hindus will carry off the palm by dint of their majority, and no Mohammedan will get into the council by election.

It has also been proposed that a memorial be submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy to draw the attention of Government to a consideration of the rights of Mohammedans.

I feel it is a very important matter, and, if we remain silent, I am afraid people will leave us to go their own way and act up to their own personal opinions.¹

Will you, therefore, inform me if it would be advisable to submit a memorial from the Mohammedans to the Viceroy, and to request His Excellency's permission for a deputation to wait on His Excellency to submit the views of Mohammedans on the matter ?

You have, there, an opportunity of knowing the opinion of Government officials on the matter, and you can thus give me valuable advice in this connection.

I shall be highly grateful if you will consider this a very important matter, and inform me of your opinion as soon as possible, after enquiring every thing and giving it full consideration.

Hoping you are doing well.

I am,

Yours very sincerely,

MOHSIN-UL-MULK.²

It is evident that Mohsin-ul-Mulk, assuming the leadership of the Aligarh movement after the death of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, like other men

1. Emphasis added.

2. Text of the letter is preserved in the Minto Papers at the National library of Scotland Edinburgh and in the Morley Papers at the India Office library, London.

of light and learning amongst the Muslims, was perturbed by John Morley's budget speech. He was apprehensive of the growing influence of the congress amongst the young men of community and had given serious thought to the problem of *legitimising* their new political aspirations. He, therefore, allowed himself to be persuaded into organizing a respectable Muslim deputation to wait upon the Viceroy in order to appraise him of the political demands of his nation.

In the light of this letter, a copy of which was forwarded by Archbold to Colonel Dunlop Smith, it is entirely wrong to assert that the Simla Deputation was the outcome of some underhand arrangement between the Aligarh leadership and the British authorities.

SIR SAYYID AHMAD ON THE MUTINY

In 1957 many articles were published on the nature of the insurrection of 1857. Three years ago it was generally beleived and propogated that the rebellion of 1857 was, in fact, a war of independence. Recently, however, I have been able to lay my hands on a letter of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan addressed to Sir John Kaye which, I feel, should be given the publicity it deserves. The contents of this letter are self-explanatory. It is therefore reproduced below without any comments :—

21, Mecklenburgh Square,
W. C.

14th December, 1869.

My dear Sir,

With many many thanks I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 30th ultimo and at the same time to ask your pardon for the delay which has taken place in answering it. I am sorry to learn you are unwell, but hope that under God's blessing you may ere long be restored to your wanted health.

In yours now under reply you honour me by asking my opinion "as to the extent to which the Mutiny of 1857 grew into a popular rebellion in the N. W. Provinces and express your opinion that it was not a mere mutiny". As far as my personal knowledge extends respecting the Sepoy Revolt of 1857, and from all that I have learnt from investigation I find that even the use of the expression "Military Mutiny" conveys an idea of something more than the real fact. It cannot be denied that the use of greased catridges did violence to the superstition of the Sepoys, who consequently determined

not to bite the same. Almost all the Sepoys had unanimously resolved never to bite the cartridge, which determination was the only charge that could be brought against them, till a very severe punishment was inflicted upon them at Meerut, a punishment which produced a strong impression on the minds of those men that they must either bite the greased cartridges or suffer the punishment of their disobedience. And it was then, and not before, that the discontent of the Sepoys grew into a Military Mutiny. I am strongly of opinion that, if before the infliction of punishment the alternative either of biting the cartridges or resigning the service, had been offered them, the Sepoys would undoubtedly have peaceably withdrawn themselves from the Company's Services. If the real facts connected with the revolt in the N. W. P. be calmly enquired into, I do not think that the events which happened there can properly be designated as a 'popular rebellion.' Undoubtedly the people of the N. W. P. were dissatisfied with the Company's rule, and this in a great measure was owing to the following causes :—

The decay of respectable families, without the void they left being filled up by others—

The non-existence of any means by which the native community could procure honourable situations, and more especially—

The forfeiture of the *Munfee* (right of holding lands without paying any rent to Government) which act of the Authorities was considered a great injustice by the natives; and lastly to some other causes of less importance. It may also be safely asserted that the Government's exercise of the "right of Predominant Power", a power subject to no regulations and unlimited, and the interference, in a way till then unknown, in the cases of Adoption and Lapse, had created a distrust in the mind of the native Chiefs who perhaps did no longer think themselves secure. It does however by no means appear that even this stimulated them to revolt or to take any part in the rebellion, for no native Chiefs whatever, who were in possession of their principality, notwithstanding the distrust with which they looked upon the company's rule committed themselves by any act of rebellion against the Government. Quitting the subject of the Military Mutiny I shall now briefly describe the character of the rebellion in the N. W. Provinces. The rebellion in the N. W. P. assumed three forms :—

- 1st : Robbers and Dacoits who were kept down by the power and strength of the Government now assembling in numbers not only attacked wayfarers but also plundered villages and even towns.

2nd : Some of the minor Chiefs whose families had fallen into decay, endeavoured the resuscitation of their ancestral power. This sort of mutiny occurred in four places only : Cawnpore, Barielly, Bijnour, and Furrukhabad. Some of these parties tried to have themselves restored while others were compelled by the mutineers to make an effort.

3rd : Some of the lower classes, variously employed, entered the services of such rebellious Chiefs.

The first kind of rebellion cannot strictly be deemed one against the Government. The third sort of rebellion also although undoubtedly a crime cannot be called a regular rebellion. This notion had taken deep root in the native mind, in times previous to the Company's rule, when Chiefs fought with each other and when engaging in the military service of either party was not considered as a crime.

The second sort of revolt was indeed of a serious nature, but this bad feeling was exclusively confined to the above mentioned rebellious chiefs and was never general. As far as I know the population of no part of the N. W. P. tried or even thought of rendering any assistance to the native rebellious Chiefs, much less than of subverting the British rule. A great proof of the justice of the assertion lies in the fact that as soon as the mutinous troops and the rebellious chiefs were expelled from a District, peace was immediately restored.

I therefore think that the mutiny of 1857 was not a popular rebellion. To a European mind unacquainted with the state of India, the very name of a rebellion at once carries with it an idea that the people of the country must have taken part in it, and the real facts are thus ignored.

With feeling of sincere regard, and hoping the above will suffice to give you some idea of my humble opinion.

I remain

Dear Sir,

Very Truly Yours,

Syed Ahmad.

To

J. W. KAYE Esq.,

India Office.

SURENDRANATH BANERJEA, SYED AHMAD KHAN AND THE BRITISH RULE

BY

MUZAFFAR M. HASHMI, M.A. (Pb.), B.A. HONS. (LONDON)

Surenranath Banerjea and Syed Ahmad Khan both appear to be moderates to the core in their attitude towards the British rule. They disliked extremism in Indian politics and openly condemned such tendencies in their respective communities. Both of them believed in the permanency of the British rule with certain reservations and were admirers of its virtuous effects.

Their attitudes, however, differed on two points. First was the method of administration. Syed Ahmad believed in good government while Banerjea aspired for the self-government within the British Empire. The second difference was on the mode of reforms. Syed Ahmad wanted British support to reform the social, religious and educational conditions of the Indians and particularly of the Muslims. Banerjea had very little to do with this aspect of the Indian Society and concentrated his efforts on the constitutional reforms instead.

Banerjea's attitude towards the British rule can be ascertained from a few outstanding examples of his character and political career. Despite the fact, that in his early life he suffered at the hands of the British bureaucrats and so-called educationists in India as well as in England, he never lost the touch of the constitutional means to achieve personal and national ambitions. He was once disqualified from the Indian Civil Service due to a misunderstanding about his age.¹ When this was removed and he was re-instated in the service, his immediate superior turned against him and successfully manoeuvred for his dismissal.² His appeal to the authorities of the India Office also proved fruitless.³ He was a victim once again, when in 1875, was refused to be called to the Bar by the Benchers of the Middle Temple with no reason or justification.⁴ All this could not make him go to the extremes against the British rule and in fact, his speeches were full of admiration for the British virtues. In his presidential address to the Congress in 1902, he regarded all educated Indians as the pupils of the English. In the same speech, he admires English institutions and

(1) Banerjea, S — A Nation in Making P. 12

(2) Ibid P. 29

(3) Ibid pp. 31

(4) Ibid pp. 32

cleverly asks the British to appreciate the Indian ambition for the self-government as it was inspired by their education. In 1878, he addressed the Calcutta Medical Students and said that England like Rome and Athens had a mission to conquer the East. It was "to save, regenerate and emancipate from the claims of ignorance, error and superstitions, some 250 million people of India ; to heal the wounds that have been inflicted on them by the repacity of their former rulers... to help towards the consummation of Indian Unity and to reconcile the jarring conflicts of the diverse Indian nationalities". His moderate attitude can also be judged from his activities after the partition of Bengal. Although he tried his best to make the act unpopular in India and particularly in Bengal (by introducing *Bande Mataram*, by making tours and by holding public meetings) he never allowed any extreme device to achieve his objective. When two young Bengalies visited him one night and asked for his consent to assassinate Fuller the lieutenant governor of East Bengal, he successfully cooled them off. Lord Minto who once mistook Banerjea as one of the extremists and despisingly called him "King of Bengal" in a letter to Morley,¹ later on changed his opinion and described one of his (Banerjea's) speeches against the revolutionary activities of the Bengalies as "an excellent speech."² Minto also appreciated the efforts of Banerjea to organise big meetings to mourn the death of King Edward VII. In one of his telegrams sent to the Secretary of State Minto said, "No such spectacle has been seen before in Calcutta."²

The moderate attitude of Syed Ahmed Khan towards the British rule has never been challenged by any section of the Indian opinion. He was convinced by the idea that the salvation of the Muslims lay in their co-operation with the British. His main interest was in the social, educational and religious reforms of the Muslims. He entered politics when it was absolutely necessary. When the Indian National Congress was going ahead in its demands for the representative institutions, Syed Ahmad Khan was busy telling his co-religionists the value of such institutions through the medium of Western education. Unless the Muslims really understood them, they could not make demands for their introduction in Indian Society. With this reason in mind he depreciated the attempts of Haji Mohammad Ismail to reconcile with the congress on this issue. He was so convinced of the truth of his moderate attitude, that emphati-

(1) Morley Collections, India Office Library, dated March 19, 1907.

(2) Morley Collections, India Office Library dt. March 4, 1909.

(3) Morley Collections, India Office Library dt. May 7, 1910.

cally condemned the Wahabi outrages on the North-Western Frontier. In fact, he had once admitted, "I am a Wahabi" and was fully in accord with their reforming zeal. But extremism could never extract his appreciation. As far as the British were concerned he was in favour of bringing about even an ideological compromise. Syed Ahmad Khan knew very well that antagonism between Islam and Christianity based upon popular prejudices was very strong and could play havoc against the Christian rulers and *vice versa*. Therefore he preached the Islamic virtue of "Love for Mankind" and repeatedly emphasized that Jesus was one of the great Prophets of Islam. Moreover he advocated the doctrine, once favourite of the Umayyads that "Obey God, His Prophet and all who are your rulers."

Banerjea and Syed Ahmad, though alike in their moderate attitude towards the British rule, differed fundamentally on the method of the Indian administration. On several occasions, Banerjea emphasized the need for the self-Government. Speaking at the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress in 1916, he said, "This self-government would be within the imperial system of the British Empire." In the same speech he refuted the statements of some of the British officials, that the Congress did not represent the Indian masses and if granted self-government would not be able to look-after their interests. He refused to agree that the Indians were not yet ready for the self-government. He gave examples of the elected monarchy in ancient India,¹ mentioned Democracy as the basis of Islam and reminded the British the plight of their Parliament before the Reform Act of 1832. He said, "We want self-government in the interest of the Empire to which we are so proud to belong to... good government is no substitute for self-government. He finished his speech by saying, "We want self-government for our moral elevation as political inferiority involves moral degeneration."²

Surenranath Banerjea's demand for self-government within the imperial system was based on the assumption of universal suffrage. It was this assumption which was emphatically defied by Syed Ahmad Khan. He knew very well that if that were granted, the Muslims who were in numerical minority every where in India would not be able to secure any worth-while representation. It was this fact, which made Syed Ahmad

(1) This belief is now out dated and is based on the Hindu sentiments only. The modern researchers have proved that there were no elected monarchy in ancient India.

(2) Surenranath Banerjea - Speeches.

Khan to oppose the idea of representative government. Otherwise, he was the first Indian, who for the first time popularised the idea of Indian representation in the executive government of India. In his pamphlet, "Causes of the Indian Revolt", one of the three main causes that he discussed was the ignorance of the Indian conditions by the government. Syed Ahmad advised the rulers to associate Indians in the administration in order to receive upto-date information of their ideas and beliefs. But he preferred nomination to election. Secondly, Syed Ahmad was an aristocrat of the first rate and could not see the lower class people entering the administration of the country through elections.¹

Another fundamental difference between the two leaders was on the forms of the reforms. Banerjee, being a politician to the core had little to do with social reforms. He had opened a new college at Calcutta and was a lecturer himself, but his aim was to use Bengali youth to achieve political ends. His memoirs give the impression that Banerjee's main objective was politics rather than education. It was only once, that he attended the social conference organized by B.G. Tilak in 1895 and advised the young men to support the mission of Tilak.² Banerjee is also described as a great admirer of Tilak's personality and character.³ When Tilak celebrated the anniversary of Raja Ram Mohan Roy at Bombay, Banerjee in conjunction with Basu celebrated the anniversary of Shivaji. But this was perhaps an act of courtesy, otherwise Banerjee never took any interest in the physical training of the Hindus, in reviving the Hindu culture or in going back to the Vedas.

On the other hand, Syed Ahmed looked towards the British rule as a source of help for the introduction of social and educational reforms among the Muslims. His political activities were mainly aimed at gaining official favour for his reforming zeal. Unfortunately, he had to fight on two fronts simultaneously. He had to convince the British of the Muslim loyalty and tell his own people of the advantages of the Western education. He was fortunate to have collected around him men like Hali and Nazir Ahmad who were genuinely desirous of eradicating superstitions

(1) Zakaria, R.A. *Muslims in India—1885-1906* (unpublished thesis of Ph.D. from London University submitted in 1948)

(2) Ghosh, P.C. *The development of Indian National Congress* (unpublished Thesis of Ph. D. from London University, 1958)
Ibid.

from among the Muslims. Syed Ahmad himself had to write commentary on the Quran and to translate the Bible. At the same time he had to correct the beliefs of Hunter¹ and Muir² in regard to Islam and the Muslims. In short, Syed Ahmads' approach to the British rule was to extract help for reforming the conditions of the Muslim India. Before he had done that, he could not possibly work on the lines of Surendranath Banerjea.

(1) Review on the book of Dr. Hunter.

(2) Essays on the life of Mohammad.



A TUSSLE FOR THE PUNJAB LEADERSHIP

BY

YUSAF ABBASI, M.A.

The estrangement between Sir Fazl-i-Husain and Sir Sikander Hayat Khan gave rise to serious misunderstanding between the two politicians and became a subject of lively controversy in the contemporary Muslim press. The daily *Ehsan* in its issue of 28th February, 1935 remarked that "for some time past the atmosphere of Panjab politics has been full of rumours of supposed rivalry between Mian Fazl-i-Husain and Capt. Sir Sikander Hayat Khan on the question of Chief ministership of the Punjab under the new constitutional set up." *Daur-i-Jadid* the organ of the Unionist Party in its issue of 24th February 1935 felt constrained to write an editorial to emphasize the solidarity of the two Unionist top leaders : "There is no difference between these two gentlemen, but it is unfortunate that the Hindu press has spread this canard so persistently that even those who are well connected with affairs find themselves in a state of perplexity. Unfortunately some of our Muslim contemporaries have added to this confusion. The Hindu papers are persistently spreading the dirty propaganda that Mian Sahib is an arch-communalist and Sir Sikander Hayat Khan is a dear friend of the Hindus." However the situation was different than portrayed by the *Ehsan* or the *Daur-i-Jadid*.

Rao Bahadur Chhotu Ram's statement in contradiction of such persistent speculations about their differences, reveals between the lines the serious nature of their rivalry. "For some time past it was generally believed in political circles that the stage was being set in the Punjab for a "tussle" between Sir Sikander and Sir Fazli for the office of the Chief Minister. It was further believed that a combined party of certain Hindu and Sikh politicians was preparing to offer their leadership to Sir Sikander and holding out to him the prospects of Chief Ministership, provided he could bring with him a sufficient number of Muslims to form a stable majority in the Council. Public attention was pointedly drawn to the likelihood of an alliance on these lines by the speeches made in the Legislative Council some time ago when party leaders formally bade farewell to Sir Sikander. Hindu and Sikh leaders pointedly expressed their desire to see the retiring Revenue Member at the helm of the ministry in the reformed Council, and said that, if they could have Sir Sikander as Chief Minister in the Punjab, the communal and other safeguards in the constitution would not matter. They further suggested that they would allow

Sir Sikander to enjoy his "leave" from the Punjab Council only until the advent of the new reforms. Sir Sikander's reply suggested a provisional acceptance of the 'offer'.

Sir Fazl-i-Hussain's followers in the Punjab asserted that the real object of the pro-Sikander Hayat's move was to keep Sir Fazli out, as it was generally believed that the choice of Chief Minister lay practically between these two Muslim leaders."¹

It is surprising that in spite of the later statements issued by both of them denying their mutual differences, they failed to carry much conviction with the newspapers and the people in general. Both of them took pains to emphasize the cordial nature of their personal relationship and paid glowing tributes to each other publicly. The *Inqilab* in its issue of 27th February, 1935, published the account of an interview with Sir Sikander Hayat, in which he was reported to have said that "he accepted Sir Fazl-i-Hussain not only as his own leader but also looked upon him as the greatest leader of Mussalmans." The newspaper expressed its pleasure on this clear rebuttal of the Hindu propaganda against Muslim leadership in the Punjab, but "regretted the inordinate delay in the issue of this contradiction."

In spite of formal goodwill, the differences seem to have been too real to be plastered over in newspaper statements and contradictions. This tussle, as it did come on the eve of constitutional changes, had a deeper political significance than a mere estrangement between two old friends on their personal level. In 1935 the political situation was very fluid all over the sub-continent; new political groupings and alignments seemed to be the order of the day. The political leaders were refurbishing their armour and the political parties galvanising their organisations to fight the election battle under the new constitution. The transfer of political power in the provinces was to be a result of direct elections in which the party and personal position would necessarily depend on the degree of influence on the newly enfranchised electorate. In these circumstances it is not difficult to understand why every politician tried his best to stick to his zone of political activity. To venture forth or to hang on in gubernatorial offices of doubtful future under the Central government, away from the real springs of political power in the provinces would have been nothing short of political harakiri. It amply explains Sir Fazl-i-Hussain's eagerness to stage a come-back to the Punjab politics from the Viceroy's

(1) Civil and Military Gazette, 26th February, 1935.

Executive Council on the expiry of his term of office as the Revenue Member, and Sir Sikander's hesitation to accept a dignified exile to Calcutta as the Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India.

Though Sir Fazl-i-Hussain had been without a peer in provincial politics and enjoyed the stature of an All India leader, he did not find it easy to reclaim his former position in the Punjab, for he had aroused considerable opposition in the sections of Muslim population, and had earned the bitter hostility of the Hindus. On his retirement from the Viceroy's Executive Council, the elevation of Sir Zafar Ullah Khan to the Council as a representative of the Muslims of Punjab, was sorely resented by the Ahrars, who attributed it to the influence of Mian Sahib. Unfortunately there was a substance of truth in this allegation, but with the difference that Mian Sahib had not espoused Sir Zafar Ullah for his religious creed, but for his ability and perhaps for his own political convenience. 'The Zamindar' had opened its broadside against Mian Sahib and the Ahrars eager to make political capital out of this episode were "establishing friendly contacts with Unionist leaders like Sir Sikander Hayat Khan and Nawab Muzaffar Khan.—They felt that they would not be able to hold their own against self-willed Mian Sahib, so Sir Sikander Hayat Khan should be made a leader of the Punjab."¹ The campaign against Sir Fazl-i-Hussain for his alleged partiality to the Qadiani sect was so strong that even a fair-minded paper like *Ehsan* had to demand that, "before Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hussain enters the field of Punjab politics again, he would have to remove the blot from his fair name, which has been caused by his pro-Qadiani policy.—" The Hindu fear and hatred of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain was understandable. He firmly believed that the Muslims should be given their legitimate share as the majority community in the political and economic set up of the Punjab. In order to enable the Muslims to make up for their leeway in the political, economic and educational fields certain special safeguards should be provided for them. Though this policy was strictly within the framework of the Lucknow Pact, the Hindus of the Punjab irrespective of their political affiliations, united in a campaign of relentless opposition against him. His pro-Congress sympathies in All-India affairs did not save him from the attacks of the Hindu press. As his leadership of the conglomerate Unionist Party had not prevented him from the stout defence of the Muslim rights, some of his erstwhile Hindu colleagues perhaps also fought shy of co-operating with him in view of the rising temper of the Hindu press and people, so they had started exploring

(1) A. M. Salik : "Yaran-i-Kuhan" p. 88.

the chances of joining hands with a Muslim leader, who is less offensive to the Hindu susceptibilities. Hence the parleys between the various groups of Hindus led by politicians like Sir Gokal Chand, Sir Shadi Lal and Raja Narendra Nath. The testimony of Hayat-i-Sikander furnishes further proof of the popularity of Sir Sikander with the Hindus. "Due to the impending constitutional reforms, the communal problems of the Punjab had become very acute. The Hindu members of the Legislative Council were apprehensive of the Zamindar Party of the late Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. Sir Sikander who was a prominent member of the said Zamindar Party enjoyed the confidence of all the parties in the Legislative Council. He had the reputation of being the binding link between the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Swarajists and the official members of the Council". The Hindu newspapers including the Congress spokesman the *Tribune* denounced Sir Fazl-i-Hussain as the arch-enemy of Hindu-Muslim Unity.¹ The bitter criticism of Hindu press is no small measure an index of his pro-Muslim policies. The Hindus mortally feared the return of Mian Sahib to the arena of Punjab politics, which in their opinion had been enjoying a comparative calm and peace in the absence of Mian Sahib. Extracts from Hindu press quoted in *Daur-i-Jadid* of 24th February, 1935, reveals the Hindu apprehensions: "Sir Fazl-i-Hussain has astounded the Punjab by his scheming. He plans to take up public life on his retirement from the Central Government. He would adopt a new line of policy. He would renounce "Communalism" and put up the pose of a staunch nationalist. His adherents hope that the moment he delivers some public speeches, the Hindu nationalist elements would forget his (black) record of the past. With the support of the nationalist Hindus he would then attempt to capture power under the new Constitution. But the popularity of Sir Sikander Hayat Khan and Nawab Muzaffar Khan among the Hindus has complicated the situation for him. If Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, Sir Gokal Chand and Sir Joginder Singh can unite they can defeat Sir Fazl-i-Hussain in his designs and can form a very stable ministry in the Punjab. Chaudhari Sir Shihab-ud-Din would also give his support to them. The Firoz Khan Noon group is already estranged from Sir Fazl-i-Hussain."

Undoubtedly, the Hindu press and politicians were trying to create a rift among the Muslim leaders by playing off one against the other. Some of the Muslim newspapers were fully conscious of the Hindu intentions of sowing the seeds of discord among the Muslim leaders. The *Siyasat* in its issue of 22nd February, sounded a note of warning to the

(1) *Op.*, cit p. 82.

Muslim people and politicians. "The question arises why is Mian Sahib being villified? The answer is simple—The Hindus are afraid of him. They fear that either Mian Sahib or some one subscribing to his policy would form the government. Unlike the Mussalmans, the Hindus being a far-sighted people have started denouncing Mian Sahib, well in advance of the contingency. They also hold out bright prospects of ministership to some of the office-hungry Mussalmans. So the nefarious scheme to split the Muslim majority in the Punjab is already afoot. In these circumstances, the most important obligation for us all is to affirm that in the present All-India political set up, the policy of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain is best suited to Muslim interests. Every individual, should declare unequivocally that he firmly stands by this policy. Sir Sikander has given a lie to the rumours regarding the differences with Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, but it would have been still more desirable if he had also expressed complete accord with the policy of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain."

Sir Sikander who had succeeded Sir Fazl-i-Hussain in the leadership of the Muslims and of the Unionist Party in the Punjab, had by 1935 become a formidable rival for his former benefactor. In spite of the outward professions of goodwill on both the sides the tussle for leadership had become really acute. Sir Sikander was more affable and less domineering than Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. Though he followed the pro-Muslim policy of his predecessor, he did it mildly without exciting the hatred and opposition of the Hindus. Surely the Hindus nourished a deeper grudge against Sir Fazl-i-Hussain for having originated this policy than against Sir Sikander who followed it without a sting. However, it did not mean that the latter was prepared to undersell the Muslim rights, it only implied that his leadership was more acceptable to the Hindus. His popularity amongst the Hindus is well testified by the favourable reactions of the Hindu press, on his temporary appointment as the governor of the Punjab in July, 1932. The daily *Milap* remarked, "We have been backing up the appointment of Capt. Sikander Hayat, and now hail it when it has come through. We hope that as is wont he would rise above communal considerations." The *Partap* expressed the view that "We are glad that the British Government has not yielded to the retrogressive forces, which do not suffer the Indians to progress." The *Bande Matram* said, "Communal considerations should not be brought in this matter. The fact that Capt. Sikander is a Mussalman should be no disqualification for the post of governorship. However, we hope that he would not give the impression by any word or deed that his appointment to governorship is in any way tantamount to

the establishment of Muslim rule in the province." The *Tribune* said that "he enjoys such popularity amongst various sections of the population that his appointment has been acclaimed by one and all. In the political circles he is respected for his breadth of vision in the constitutional problems."

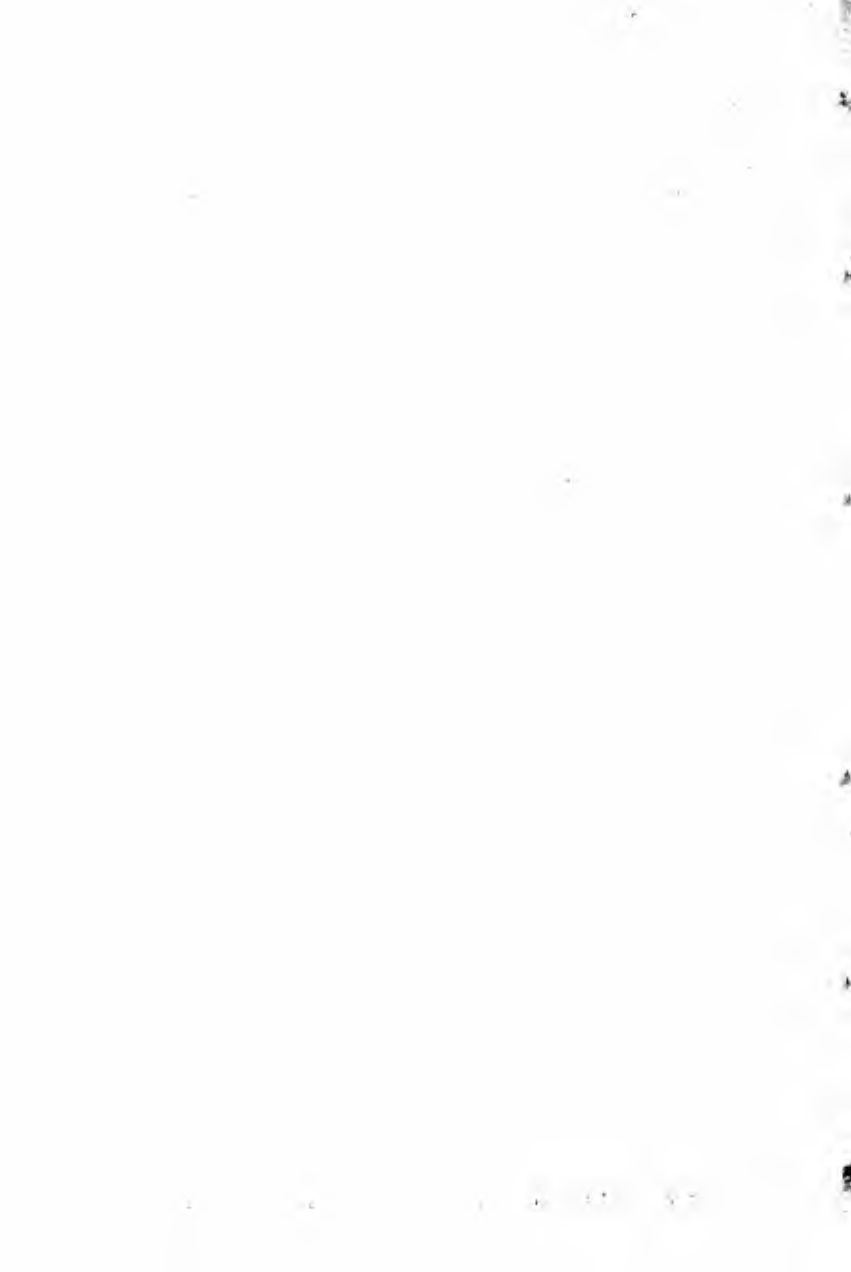
His second temporary appointment to the governorship of the Punjab (15th February, 1934—9th June, 1934) was, similarly, acclaimed by the Muslim and Hindu press. In 1935, his popularity as a promising leader of the Punjab was at its height. The Hindus definitely would prefer Sir Sikander to Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. The *Ahirs* openly favoured the elevation of Sir Sikander to the position of Muslim leadership.

It is really baffling why in such favourable circumstances did Sir Sikander accept the glorified exile to Calcutta? Why did he willingly abdicate in favour of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. If we have credence in the account given by Maulana Salik in *Yaran-i-Kuhan*(1) it was due to the clever manipulation of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, who had already manouvred the nomination of Sir Zafar Ullah from the Muslim Unionist group, as none of the politicians was willing to leave Lahore for New Delhi. He practically isolated Sir Sikander by winning over Sir Shihab-ud-Din with a promise of Speakership of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, and placing Sir Feroz Khan Noon in the post of Indian High Commissioner in London. So Sir Sikander accepted the post of Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India. Here arises the question why did the allies of Sir Sikander withdraw their support from him and why should have he abdicated in favour of his rival and accepted his exit? The graceful manner in which he left the Punjab and the cordiality which still existed between Sir Fazl-i-Hussain and Sir Sikander leads one to believe that both of them were positively convinced that any rift in the Muslim leadership at this critical juncture would compromise the Muslim position as a majority in the new legislature. Perhaps both of them had reached an understanding to preserve the facade of Muslim unity and to subordinate their personal ambitions if any to the wider interest of Muslim solidarity. Though we do not have any conclusive proof of such an agreement, yet the readiness of Sir Sikandar to forego his bright chances in the Punjab and his graceful acceptance of the leadership of the elder politician is a sufficient proof of the fact that without mutual understanding and a feeling of common concern for the Muslim majority in Punjab, such a smooth political adjustment would not have been possible.

In this episode the nature of their personal relationship cannot be ignored. In fact, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain has been mainly instrumental in launching Sir Sikander on his successful political career in 1929, when he was appointed as Revenue Member in the office vacated by him. "The relations between Sir Fazl-i-Hussain and Sir Sikandar have always been of perfect goodwill and actual helpfulness. There has never been, there is not now and there will never be a rivalry between these two eminent Unionists. I am not unaware of the attempts which have been made to pit the one against the other, but fortunately both have proved as I fully expected too wary to be caught in the net. While Sir Sikander gave expression—to his deep, affectionate and reverential regard for Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, it is also true of the latter he has a great regard for the cool judgment, clear political vision and admirable mental equipoise of Sir Sikander, and would do, as he has done in the past, everything in his power to see Sir Sikander rise and prosper as a father would do for his son, or an elder brother for a younger brother." (1)

The concern for Muslim solidarity and their deep friendship resulted in tacit understanding about the leadership of the Punjab. Perhaps Sir Sikander did not like to fight an already dying man. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain has been seriously ill, one of his diseased lungs had been dried by the doctors. With his death in early 1936 he quitted the political scene of the Punjab, and Sir Sikandar staged a come back in October. It is puerile to speculate how the tussle for power would have shaped if he had lived, but this much is certain that both of them behaved towards each other like perfect gentlemen and did not hesitate to subordinate their personal ambition for the general welfare of the Mussalmans of the Punjab.

(1) Sir Chhotu Ram's Statement in the Civil & Military Gazette, February 26, 1935.



LIST OF RESEARCH WORK

Done in the Department of History,
Panjab University Lahore.



LIST OF RESEARCH WORK DONE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, PANJAB UNIVERSITY
YEAR OF EXAMINATION, 1935

Name of the Candidates	Topics	Degree
Para Ram Kanshal	.. Studies in the East India Records	.. M.A.
Narin Das Bhatia	.. The fall of Multan 1849	.. M.A.
Mr. Zahaar ul Hassan	.. Richmond Broadfoot at Lahore	.. M.A.
Mr. V. Dars Nath	.. Henry Lawrence in the Punjab, 1846-1849	.. M.A.
Roshan Lall	.. Henry Lawrence in the Punjab, 1849-53	.. M.A.
Brahm Parkash	.. John Lawrence in the Punjab as Chief Commissioner, 1853-58	.. M.A.
Zinda Khan	.. Lord Dalhousie's relations with John and Henry Lawrence during the Board of Administration	.. M.A.
Vidya Sagar	.. The part played by John Lawrence during the Mutiny	.. M.A.
Muhammad Iqbal Mahmud	.. The political relations of the British Government with the native states of the Punjab, 1849-68	.. M.A.
Miss L. Cornelius	.. Sir Fredrick Currie as Resident in the Punjab	.. M.A.
Muhammad Iqbal Bhatti	.. Sir David Ochterloney on the Sutlej Frontier	.. M.A.
Ali Iqtidar Shah	.. Sir Robert Montgomery, 1849-65	.. M.A.
Manak Chand	.. British Relations with Afghanistan, 1844-57.	.. M.A.

Name of the Candidates	Topic	Degree
Muhammad Iqbal	Relations of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan with the British	M.A.
Ranbir Singh Chawla	Trade with Central Asia	M.A.
Muhammad Bashir Khan Malik	The North West Frontier, 1864-68	M.A.
Manzhar Ahmad	Administrative development of the Punjab, 1864-68	M.A.
Miss P. Manchanda	British Administrative beginnings in the Punjab from 1849	M.A.
YEAR OF EXAMINATION, 1936		
Madan Gopal Chopra	Educational Activities of the Christian Missionaries in the Punjab from 1835-1885.	M.A.
S. Pyara Singh	British Policy with regard to commerce on the Indus	M.A.
Madan Gopal Chopra	Activities of Christian Missionaries	M.A.
S. Hazura Singh	The Policy of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 1818-24	M.A.
Mr. Vidya Dhar	Chandra Gupta Maurya	M.A.
Ram Prashad Chopra	European Visitors at the Courts of Akbar and Jahangir and their accounts of India	M.A.
S. Jaswant Singh	The Political conduct of Raja Gulab Singh, 1839-1849	M.A.
Anwar Hashmi	The Punjab under the Chief Commissioner, 1853-57	M.A.

Shah Din	..	The Sikh Army, its growth, composition and character, 1800-39	..	M.A.
Brajendra Lal	..	The condition of India as reflected in the works of Kalidas	..	M.A.
Miss Tara Man Mohan	..	Social life as revealed in Tulsi Das's Ramayana	..	M.A.
Fazal-i-Illahi	..	Wahabi activities in the North of India	..	M.A.
Des Raj Bhatia	..	Sir H. Edwardes in the Punjab	..	M.A.
Abdul Hafiz	..	The Policy of J. Lawrence in the Punjab to 1853	..	M.A.
Barkat Ali	..	The Policy of Sir Henry Lawrence in the Punjab	..	M.A.
Jumuna Parsad	..	The Development of the Indian Constitution, 1857-92	..	M.A.

YEAR OF EXAMINATION, 1937

Gian Chand Bali	..	Sikh conquest and rule in Kashmir under Ranjit Singh	..	M.A.
Muhammad Nazar-ul-Baqar	..	Administration of the Punjab between the two Sikh Wars	..	M.A.
Yog Parkash	..	The British Policy towards the Trans Jamma States from 1803-11	..	M.A.
Hamid Nawaz Khan	..	Organization of Administrative machinery under Akbar	..	M.A.
Prem Narain Behan	..	Development of the land revenue policy of the Punjab during Lord Dalhousie	..	M.A.

Name of the Candidate,	Topics	Degree
Sujan Lal Joneja	.. Relations of the Rajput States with the first three Moghul Emperors viz., Babur, Humayun and Akbar	M.A.
B. B. Bhatnagar	.. The origin and growth of Local self-government in India	M.A.
Abdul Hamid	.. Subsidiary alliance under Lord Wellesley	M.A.
YEAR OF EXAMINATION, 1938		
Hamid-ud-Din	.. Anglo-Afghan Relations from the end of the First Afghan War to the beginning of the Second Afghan War	M.A.
Sardar Khan	.. The Political Reorganization of the Punjab with Special Reference to the North-West Frontier under Sir Henry Lawrence with effect from 1849..	M.A.
Sardari Lal	.. The Mutiny of 1857 in the Punjab	M.A.
Bhoj Datt	.. The East India Company and Siraj-ud-Daula	M.A.
Gurdial Das	.. The Life and Work of Alla Singh—the founder of the Patiala Dynasty	M.A.
Nirmal Singh	.. The British Agency at Lahore, 1846	M.A.
Thakur Inder Singh	.. The Life and Character of Dara Shikoh	M.A.
Muhammad Iqbal	.. Punjab as Gleaned from Sohan Lal's Umdat-ul-Tawarikh	M.A.

Rehmat Ullah	..	The Social Condition of India on the eve of the British Rule	..	M.A.
Muhammad Aziz-ur-Rahman	..	Growth of British Power in Bengal before Plassy	..	M.A.
Sham Lal Soni	..	Indus Valley Civilization	..	M.A.
Anwar-ul-Haq	..	The Relations of the Mughal Emperors with the English, 1771-1833	..	M.A.
Ganga Ram Jain	..	Society in the Buddhist period as reflected in the Jatakas	..	M.A.
Dev Charan Lal	..	Society in the Buddhist period as reflected in the "saying of Buddha"	..	M.A.
R. E. Khan Naru	..	Albiruni's India	..	M.A.
Ram Kumar	..	The Punjab under Aurangzeb	..	M.A.
Avinash Chandra Saigal	..	European Traveller's description of Mughal Government	..	M.A.
Omar Hayat	..	India in the Fourteenth Century	..	M.A.
Herbert W. Warde Jones	..	Correspondence of Mackeson as Sub-Agent at Peshawar	..	M.A.
Muhammad Yunis Sultan	..	The Administration of the Punjab from January, 1853, until the eve of Mutiny	..	M.A.
Balbir Krishen Kapur	..	The growth of the Sikh army from 1800-1939	..	M.A.
Narinder Singh	..	Raja Lal Singh	..	M.A.
Ijaz Ahmad	..	The Development of the Lahore Municipality, 1921-35	..	M.A.
Yash Pal	..	The relations between Mewar and Delhi under Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.	..	M.A.

Name of the Candidates	Topics	Degree
Harbans Lal	.. Economic and social studies in the published records of the East India Company, 1633—53	.. M.A.
Bahadur Chand	.. Feudatory princes under Akbar and Jahangir	.. M.A.
Kasturi Lal Malhotra	.. Raja Man Singh	.. M.A.
Janki Das	.. The Rajput States (Except Udaipur) and Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb	.. M.A.
Shiv Narain Bhatnagar	.. Sir Robert Montgomery in the Punjab	.. M.A.
A. M. David	.. Mewar under Akbar	.. M.A.
Parshotam Lal Jhingan	.. The Second Sikh War	.. M.A.
Lok Nath Prashar	.. Civilization and culture of the Gupta Period	.. M.A.
Ram Chander Aggarwal	.. Political condition of the Punjab between the two Sikh Wars	.. M.A.
YEAR OF EXAMINATION, 1939.		
Sohan Lal Sharma	.. Samudra Gupta based on Inscriptions and coins	.. M.A.
YEAR OF EXAMINATION, 1940.		
Mr. Pran Nath Khara M.A.	... Anglo-Sikh relations (Particularly with Ranjit Singh from 1803—1839).	.. Ph.D.

S. Uttam Singh	..	Jind under the Crown	..	M.A.
M. Gul Muhammad Khan	..	The Province of Multan under the Sikhs	..	M.A.
Sardari Lal	..	The Mutiny of 1857 and the Punjab	..	M.A.
Shri Niwas Khajuria	..	Life of Maharaja Gulab Singh	..	M.A.
Irshad Ahmad Qureshi	..	Babar in India	..	M.A.
Harbans Lall	..	Financial resources of the Mughal Empire under Akbar	..	M.A.
Charanjit Lal Lutena	..	Development of Education in the Punjab to Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty	..	M.A.
Muhammad Aslam Khan	..	Connection of Maharaja Gulab Singh with the Lahore Darbar, 1823-46	..	M.A.
R.S. Kalota	..	A Study of Published Documents relating to the Education in India, 1833-1904	..	M.A.
Sardar Khan	..	The political reorganization of the Punjab by Sir Henry Lawrence from 1949 with special reference to N.W. Frontiers	..	M.A.
Tilak Raj Khanna	..	Edicts of Asoka	..	M.A.
Nand Lal	..	Humayun, 1532-1542	..	M.A.
Gopal Kirishan	..	Mughal conquest of Gujrat	..	M.A.
Miss Sheil P. Joseph	..	The Development of the Indian Constitution, 1857-1929	..	M.A.
Dyaya Ram	..	The Growth of the Central Legislative from 1858-1919	..	M.A.
Muhammad Hussain	..	Administration of the Punjab, 1853-57	..	M.A.

Name of the Candidates	Topics	Degree
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Miss Kamla Thapar	.. The Growth of the Central Legislative from 1772-1858	.. M.A.
Jang Singh	.. The Administrative History of the Punjab since its annexation to the Provincial Autonomy	.. M.A.
Muhammad Salim Loani	.. The Second Afghan War—its origin, course and consequences	.. M.A.
Miss Pritam Kaur	.. Mughal conquest of Rajputana under Akbar and Jahangir	.. M.A.
Mansab Ali	.. Ghias-ud-Din Balban	.. M.A.
Datan Singh Sahi	.. Political theories of Mahabharata	.. M.A.
Ram Chand Aggarwal	.. The Geographical Data from the first eight volumes of the Epigraphic India	.. M.A.
Ram Gopa Bhandari	.. Religious policy of Akbar	.. M.A.
Jagjit Singh Bindra	.. Some aspects of administration of Justice during Aurangzeb's time as given in "Fatawa-i-Alamgiri"	.. M.A.
Gurbachan Singh	.. G.R. Clark's correspondence with respect to the Punjab	.. M.A.

Altaf Hussain Malik	..	The growth of self-government in the Punjab, 1858-1915	..	M.A.
Gural Singh	..	Warren Hastings and his council, 1773-83	..	M.A.
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Aqil Khan Malik	..	Tipu Sultan	..	M.A.
Vishnu Datta	..	India as reflected in the works of Tulsi Das other than Ram Charit Manasa	..	M.A.
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Name of the Candidates	Topics	Degree
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Chanan Singh	Hari Singh Nalwah	M.A.
Rattan Singh Kalota	A study of Published documents relating to education in India from 1833-1904	M.A.
Muhammad Aslam Khan	The career of Raja Ghulab Singh till 1849	M.A.
Shadi Lal	Kahnoji Angre and the Maratha Navy	M.A.
Sohan Lal Sharma	Mewar from the 12th to 17th Century—mainly based on Raja Prasati Inscriptions and Nawsi's Khyat (with an English translation of original)	M.A.
Marotam Singh Jauhar	The career of the Attaniwala Chiefs, Rajas Chattr Singh and Sher Singh, from March, 1846, till March, 1849	M.A.

Gurmukh Singh	..	The Punjab under the Board of Administration	..	M.A.
Altaf Ali	..	Suppression of Suttee	..	M.A.
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Karam Singh	..	Social conditions of India as reflected in the Published records of the East India Company, 1605-1641	..	M.A.
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Karanjit Singh	..	Mackeson's correspondence	..	M.A.
Ifukhar A. Naseem	..	Lord Dalhousie and the Punjab	..	M.A.
Purshinder Singh	..	The Phulkian States, 1809-1839	..	M.A.
Muhammad Aslam	..	Social Condition of India as described by the European travellers in the reign of Aurangzeb	..	M.A.
Jagat Singh	..	Land Revenue Administration under Akbar	..	M.A.
Miss P. Payne	..	Political Correspondence of Lt. Murray	..	M.A.
Saeed Muzaffar	..	History of the English Education in the Punjab	..	M.A.
P. G. Devasher	..	The Army of the Indus	..	M.A.
C. Batra	..	Anglo-Marhata Relations as described in the Wellesley despatches and Wellington's Indian despatches	..	M.A.
Ram Parbhakar	..	Social conditions of India as reflected in the Published records of the East India Company, 1642-1674	..	M.A.

Name of the Candidates	Topics	Degree
Banarsi Dass	.. Feroze Shah Tughlaq	.. M.A.
YEAR OF EXAMINATION, 1941		
Hira Lal	.. The Punjab under Akbar	.. M.A.
Harbans Lal	.. The circumstances leading to the First Sikh War	.. M.A.
Altaf Hussain Shaunkat	.. Fakir Aziz-ud-Din	.. M.A.
Buta Singh	.. The circumstances leading to the Second Sikh War	.. M.A.
Partab Singh	.. The outbreak at Multan in 1848 and the Second Sikh War	.. M.A.
Som Nath Phull	.. The Permanent Settlement in Bengal	.. M.A.
C.L. Vasudera	.. Circumstances leading to the Treaty of 1809	.. M.A.
Janki Nath Bha	.. Sikh Rule in Kashmir, 1819-1846	.. M.A.
Balwant Singh	.. The Political Condition of the Punjab between 1839 and 1843	.. M.A.

Haran Singh	.. The causes of the First Sikh War	..	M.A.
Arur Chand	.. Punjab under Jahangir and Shah Jehan	..	M.A.
Phiraya Lall	.. Administrative Institutions under the Imperial Guptas	..	M.A.
Anwar Ali	.. The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 1818-31	..	M.A.
Mul Raj Jain	.. Ranjit Singh's relations with Wade regarding the cis-sutlej States	..	M.A.
Som Nath Passi	.. The Tripartite Treaty of 1838	..	M.A.
Roshan Lal Kapur	.. British Relations with Sindh, 1809-1843	..	M.A.
Pran Nath Bhatia	.. Anglo-Afghan relations, 1809-1842	..	M.A.
Duldip Channa	.. The Political career of Sir Alexander Burnes	..	M.A.
S. P. Sangar	.. Crime and Punishment under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb	..	M.A.
Hardial Singh Sandha	.. The Relations of Ranjit Singh with the British Government, 1823-39	..	M.A.
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Name of the Candidates	Topics	Degree
Prem Chandra Vasishtha	.. The Mughal Kingship under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb	.. M.A.
Maqbool Elahi	.. Henry Lawrence as sub-Agent of the N.W.F.P., 1840-42	.. M.A.
Sh. Sadiq Hassan Farooqi	.. Shah Shujah's relations with the British Government up to 1835	.. M.A.
Har Hrishan Lal Chhibbar	.. Evolution of the Political aims of the Indian National congress	.. M.A.
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Jagdish Chand Jethi	.. Crime and Punishment under Akbar	.. M.A.
M. Nur-ud-Din Ahmad	.. The Mughal Conquest of the Deccan	.. M.A.
Abdul Hamid	.. Akbar's Army	.. M.A.
Hani Chand Kapur	.. Relation between Mewar and Delhi during the reigns of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb	.. M.A.
Hani Dev Bahi	.. War of Succession under Shah Jehan	.. M.A.
Waqish Jetjee	.. Crime and Punishment under the Mughals	.. M.A.
Omkar Nath	.. Humayun and Sher Shah	.. M.A.
Abdul Majid	.. British relations with Sindh from 1809 to Annexation.	.. M.A.

Dalip Khosla	..	Career and correspondence of Wade, 1823-30	..	M.A.
Har Krishan Lal	..	History of the Indian National Congress	..	M.A.
Kartar Singh Bajwa	..	Dost Muhammad	..	M.A.
Muhammad Yaqoob Ishaq	..	India Under Balban	..	M.A.
Pritam Singh Bhatia	..	The Origin of the Government of India Act, 1919 as studied from the Published Records of Government of India	..	M.A.
P. K. Paul	..	The circumstances leading to the Second Sikh War	..	M.A.
Ranginder Singh Gorowal	..	Lahore Durbar, 1838-93	..	M.A.
Sunesh Chandra Mathur	..	Jahangir and the European travellers	..	M.A.
Satya Paul Mahria	..	The Mughal conquest of Bengal	..	M.A.
Artar Singh Manu	..	Indian Constitutional Development, 1862-92	..	M.A.
Ameer Ahmad Siddiqi	..	Metcalf's Mission to Lahore	..	M.A.
Bashir Ahmad Khan	..	The Army of Ranjit Singh	..	M.A.
Bhag Ram Shawna	..	Sati, its origin, development and suppression	..	M.A.
Beldev Raj Kapur	..	The Lahore Agency	..	M.A.
M. Gulzar Ahmad	..	Shah Shuja and the British Government, 1840-41	..	M.A.

Name of Candidates	Topics	Degree
Hardial Singh Sandhu	.. The Reign of Maharaja Kharak Singh	.. M.A.
Naseer Ahmad Shah	.. Account of India under Shah Jahan	.. M.A.
M. Afzal	.. British Relations with Oudh from 1765	.. M.A.
YEAR OF EXAMINATION, 1942		
Prem Nath Varma	.. The Resources of the Mughal Empire, 1556-1707	.. M.A.
Miss Janki Chopra	.. Dost Muhammad's political career, 1826-1842	.. M.A.
Miss C. Chandoke	.. Wade's relations with Maharaja Ranjit Singh	.. M.A.
YEAR OF EXAMINATION, 1943		
Kuldip Chand Bedi	.. The great Battle of the Bharatas	.. Ph.D.
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Muhammad Shafi Hafiz	.. Anglo-Afghan relations from 1826-42	.. M.A.
Mr. Dharampal Vohra	.. Political correspondence of Captain Wade from 1831-1839	.. M.A.

Mr. P. N. S. Bedi	..	Political correspondence of Alexander Burnes before his mission to Kabul	..	M.A.
Mr. Ragbir Chand Bhandari	..	The Origins and Character of the Second Sikh War	..	M.A.
Miss Usha Kohli	..	Ranjit Singh and his Afghan neighbours, 1823-39.	..	M.A.

YEAR OF EXAMINATION 1944

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Zafar yal Erraian	..	Circumstances leading to the First Afghan War	..	M.A.
Mr. Muhammad Anwar Khan	..	The correspondence of Sir Henry Lawrence as Sub-Agent of the North-West frontier during the First Afghan War	..	M.A.
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Name of Candidates	Topics	Degree
YEAR OF EXAMINATION, 1945		
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Ved Parkash	.. Painting during the Mughal Age	.. M.A.
Shyam Sunder	.. Raja Dhyani Singh, Minister of Maharaja Ranjit Singh	.. M.A.
Jahwant Singh Anand	.. Constitutional development in India from 1861-1909	.. M.A.
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Mahabir Singh Sencerwal	.. Relations of the Mughals with the Persian Empire.	.. M.A.
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Brahm Butta	..	Anglo-Marhata Relations under Lord Hastings	..	M.A.
Ejaz Ahmad Naik	..	Nurjahan and her role in public affairs during the reign of Jahangir	..	M.A.
Mahandra Kumar	..	Development of the Indian constitution from 1858-1909	..	M.A.
Mumtaz Ahmad Aziz	..	The Arab Conquest of Sind	..	M.A.
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Ishawar Devi Gupta Mrs.	..	History of education in the Punjab from 1849-1919	..	M.A.
YEAR OF EXAMINATION, 1947				
Mr. Som Nath Beria	..	Nineteenth Century Kashmir, as described by European Travellers	..	M.A.
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S. Yash Pal	..	India of the days of Gotma	..	Ph.D.
YEAR OF EXAMINATION, 1948				
Jagan Nath Dass	..	Nationalism in India	..	M.A.

Name of Candidates	Topics	Degree
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Saif Ullah Khan	.. Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan	.. M.A.
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Niaz Ahmad Naik	.. Bairam Khan	.. M.A.
Kuldip Verma	.. Ancient Indian Polity—Political theories and administrative institutions in Ancient India, with special reference to the age of the Mauryas	.. M.A.
Mr. K. E. Bharadraj	.. Warren Hastings's Foreign Policy	.. M.A.
Mr. Vidya Sagar	.. The Military Organization of Sivaji	.. M.A.
Mr. Suraj Bahram	.. Gupta Art and Literature	.. M.A.
Mr. Hardyal Singh	.. "Maharaja Dalip Singh"	.. M.A.
Mr. Wazir Chand	.. Circumstances leading to the passing of Government of India Act, 1935	.. M.A.

LIST OF RESEARCH WORK COMPLETED AND IN PROGRESS, 1949-1960

Year	Name of the Candidates	Topics	Degree
1951	.. Hamid Hasam	.. Studies in Humayun Nama	.. M.A.
1954	.. Dr. A. Hamid	.. Sir Sayid Ahmad Khan and the genesis of the Muslim Separatist Movement	.. Ph.D.
1955	.. Hamid-ud-Din	.. History of the Sayed Dynasty	.. Ph.D.
1956	.. Dr. Zafar-ul-Islam	.. Growth of Muslim Political consciousness in Indo-Pakistan	.. Ph.D.
1957	.. S. Ali Abbas	.. Life and times of Imadul Mulik	.. M.A.
	Miss Khalida Mir	.. Anglo-Afghan Relations, 1842-1868	.. M.A.
	Anwar Ullah Qureshi	.. History of Urdu Journalism in the Punjab up to 1887	.. M.A.
	Mahmud Ahmad	.. Growth of Western Education amongst Muslims in Northern India, 1875-1920	.. M.A.
	B. P. Das	.. History of the American Presbyterian Mission in West Pakistan	.. M.A.
1958	.. Muhammad Siddique	.. History of the Khilafat Movement in Indo-Pak sub-continent	.. M.A.
	Miss Nazakat Jahan Tamuri	.. Jahan Ara	.. Ph.D.
1959	.. Muhammad Azam	.. Growth of constitutional development in Arabia	.. M.A.

WORK IN PROGRESS, 1960

Name of the Candidates	Topics	Degree
S. Ali Abbas	.. Historical Analysis of the Disintegration of the Mughal Empire	.. Ph.D.
Miss Arjumand Bano	.. Muslim Society in the later half of the 19th century	.. Ph.D.
Miss Shakila Khanum	.. History of the reign of Shah Alam II	.. Ph.D.
Mr. M. Y. Abbasi	.. Muslim Political Parties in the 19th century	.. Ph.D.
Yasin Muhammad Bhatti	.. Abu Mansoor, his life and times	.. Ph.D.
Shuja-ud-Din	.. Life and times of Qutb-ud-Din Aibak	.. Ph.D.
Shams-ud-Din	.. Life and times of Balban	.. Ph.D.
Shabbir Tahiri	.. History of Urdu Historiography	.. Ph.D.
Mahmooda Mushtaq (Miss)	.. European Travellers under Akbar and Jehangir	.. M.A.
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CONTENTS

Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 1—106 (1911).

The Tomb of the Emperor Jahangir.—*J. P. Thompson.*

Abulfazl. *Sh. Abdul Qadir.*

Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort.—*J. Ph. Vogel.*

Vedic Social Life according to the Similes in the Agni Hymns of the Rig Veda. *H. D. Griswold.*

The Shrine of Baba Farid Shakarganj at Pakpattan. *Miles Irving.*

A new Pathan Sultan of Delhi. *R. Whitehead.*

The Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique in the Panjab, 1641. *E. D. MacLagan.*

Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 107—187. (1912).

The Earliest English Visitors to the Punjab, 1585—1628. *E. D. MacLagan.*

A Greco-Buddhist Sculpture in the Lahore Museum. *J. Ph. Vogel.*

Coronations of Muhammadan Sovereigns. *Khan Bahadur Pirzada Muhammad Husain.*

The Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique in the Punjab, 1641. *E. D. MacLagan.*

Historical Rhymes and Proverbs of the Punjab. *J. Ph. Vogel.*

Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 1—95. (1913).

The place of Coins in Indian History. *R. B. Whitehead.*

Dara Shikoh as an author. *Pt. Shro Narain.* }

A Statue of King Kanishka. *J. Ph. Vogel.*

A Historic Elephant-fight. *M. Nur Bakhsh.*

Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 97—184. (1914).

Baba Ratan, the Saint of Bhatinda. *J. Horovitz.*

The Indian Origin of the Gypsies in Europe. *A. C. Woolner.*

The Guleria Chiefs of Kangra. *Pt. Hiranand Shastri.*

Jahanara. *G. Yazdani.*

Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 1—70. (1914).

Archaeological Discoveries at Taxila. *J. H. Marshall.*

India and Historical Research. *Ramsay Muir.*

The Road between Delhi and Multan. *A. M. Stow.*

The History of the Western Hills. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

The Ranas and Thakurs of the Western Hills. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 71—158. (1915).

Taxila. *Lecture by Sir John Marshall.*

The Punjab Hill States. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

The Site of the Battle of Delhi, 1803. *Sir Edward Maclagan.*

Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 1—75. (1916).

Four Letters by Austin of Bordeaux.

History in its relation to Sociology. *The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Muhammad Shah Din.*

History of Kashtwar State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

The "Koh-i-noor" of 1851. *Pt. Sheo Narain, R. B.*

Pahul (Sikh baptism). *Pt. Sheo Narain, R. B.*

Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 77—149. (1916).

History of Basohli State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

Malana and the Akbar-Jamlu Legend. *G. M. Young.*

An Inscription of the Reign of Ghiyath-ud-din Balban. *R. B. Whitehead.*

History of Bhadrawah State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

The Post Office in the Mutiny.

Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 1—53. (1916).

Mughal Farmans, Parwanahs and Sanads issued in favour of the Jesuit Missionaries. (With twelve plates.) *The Rev. Father Felix, O.C.*

Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 55—125. (1916).

Jesuit Missions in Lahore. The Mughal Seals. *The Rev. Father Felix, O. C.*

Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 1—67. (1917).

Ballad on Nadir Shah's Invasion of India, *R. B. Pt. Hari Kishan Kaul.*

Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 69—167. (1917).

Some Notes on Ancient Kulu Politics. *G. C. L. Howell.*

An Unpublished Diary of Sikh Times. *Shaikh Abdul Qadir.*

Influence of the Indian King upon the Growth of Caste. *The Hon'ble Mr. H. J. Maynard.*

History of Nurpur State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

Note on the Routes from the Panjab to Turkestan and China recorded by William Finch (1611). *Sir Aurel Stein.*

General Ventura. *Pt. Sheo Narain, R. B.*

Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 1—89. (1918).

History of Mandi State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

Three Mughal Parwanas. *M. Zafar Hasan.*

The Family of Lady Juliana Dias da Costa. *The Rev. H. Hosten, S. J.*

The Annual Relation of Father Fernao Guerreiro, S. J., for 1607—1608. *The Rev. H. Hosten, S. J.*

Land Revenue Administration under Maharajah Ranjit Singh. *Sita Ram Kohli.*

Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 91—205. (1919).

History of Suket State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

The Struggles of the Hindu Sahi Rulers of Kabul and Punjab against the Central Asian Turks (870—1027). *Gulshan Rai.*

History of Kulu State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

A Journey to Toling and Tsaparang in Western Tibet. *G. M. Young.*

Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 1—102. (1920).

The Ballad of Ram Singh's two Rebellions.

The Ballad of Larn Barn of the Kulu Naggar Tract. *Recorded by C. H. Donald ; edited by Rev. T. Grahame Bailey.*

History of Kangra State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

Addenda to History of Nurpur State.

Daniel Moginie, a forgotten Swiss adventurer in Hindustan (1738—1749). *Translated from the German by the Revs. J. W. Duhr, S.J., and H. Hosten, S. J.*

The Cradle of Graeco-Buddhist Art. *A. Foucher.*

Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 103—206. (1921).

History of Jammu State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

History of Bhadu State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

History of Spiti. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

History of Lahul. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

Notes on the History of Chanehni State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

Notes on the History of Bandhraltia State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

Some aspects of Slavery. *Dr. Lakshman Sarup.*
 The historical aspect of some Hamalayan Customs.
 Military Secretariat Records.

Vol. IX, Pt. I, pp. 1—91. (1923).

The Dispersion of the Indo-European Family. *H. D. Griswold.*
 Note on the passage of the Hydaspes by Alexander. *J. Hutchison.*
 Note on the History of the Burning Glass. *Dr. Lakshman Sarup.*
 Ahmad Shah Abdali and a Hindu Swami. *Parmanand Arora.*
 Hasham Shah. *Bawa Budh Singh.*
 An Autobiographical Memoir of Louis Bourquien. *J. P. Thompson.*
 Facts and Fancies about the Iron Pillar of Old-Delhi. *J. Ph. Vogel.*

Vol. IX, Pt. II, pp. 93—178. (1925).

Material in Inscriptions for the History of Institutions.
Sir John Maynard.
 History of Punch State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*
 History of Rajauri State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*
 A Note on Five Rare Old Paintings of the Moghul School. *Kanwar Sain.*

Vol. X, Pt. I, pp. 1—94. (1929).

Embassy of Mr. Johan Josua Ketelaar, Ambassador of the Dutch East India Company to the Great Moguls—Shah Alam Bahadur Shah and Jahandar Shah. *Translated from the Dutch by Mrs. D. Kuenen-Wicksteed and annotated by J. Ph. Vogel.*

Vol. X, Pt. II, pp. 1—70. (1929).

Akbar's Popularity. *Parmanand Arora.*
 Surgeon Gabriel Boughton. *Abdul Wall.*
 History of Chamba State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

Vol. XI, Pt. I, pp. 1—53. (1931).

Jaswan State, Guler State, Siba State, Datarpur State, Kutlehr State, Bangahal State. *J. Hutchison.*
 The Unpublished Letters of Sardar Chatar Singh Atariwala. *Jagat Singh.*
 Serai Nur Mahal. *R. B. Pt. Sheo Narain.*
 Padmavati—*A Romance of the Sixteenth Century.*
 Review—"Warren Hastings and Philip Francis."—By Sophia Weitzman. *The Hon'ble Mr. Justice F. W. Skemp.*

JOURNAL OF THE PANJAB UNIVERSITY HISTORICAL
SOCIETY, 1932—1947.

(Incorporating the Panjab Historical Society)

CONTENTS.

✓ Vol. I, Part I, pp. 1—85 April, 1932.

The Trial of Bahadur Shah II. *Principal H.L.O. Garrett.*

The Revolt in Kashmir, 1846. *R. R. Sethi.*

The Multan outbreak and the trial of Diwan Mul Raj. *Professor Sita Ram Kohli.*

The Sangala of Alexander's Historians. *Dr. J. Hutchison.*

Cyrus the Great and the Indian "Saka" Era. *Professor Gulshan Rai.*

Cornwallis in Bengal. *Professor J. F. Bruce.*

✓ Vol. I, Part II, pp. 87—173. December, 1932.

Origins of the First Afghan War. *P. N. Khera.*

Quinquennial Circuits or Transfers of Asoka's Officials. *A.C. Woolner.*

The Trial of Raja Lal Singh 1846. *R. R. Sethi.*

Cyrus the Great, and the Indian "Saka" Era. *Gulshan Rai.*

The Multan Outbreak and the Trial of Diwan Mul Raj. *Sita Ram Kohli.*

Lucknow in 1841. *H.L.O. Garrett.*

Captain Manuel Deremao. *H. Bullock.*

✓ Vol. II, Part I, pp. i—96. April, 1933.

The Sikh Darbar and the First Afghan War. *K.C. Khanna.*

The Voice of History From Living lips. *Ram Chand Manchanda.*

Urdu Journalism. *Bool Chand.*

The Treaty of Bhyrowal or Second Treaty of Lahore. *R.R. Sethi.*

The Mughal Province of Multan and its subsequent History. *Gulshan Rai.*

Bombay and Calcutta in 1841. *H.L.O. Garrett.*

An Autograph letter of William Moorcroft. *G.L. Chopra.*

An Autograph letter of the Elder Pitt. *Ross Wilson.*

✓ Vol. II, Part II, pp. 97—180. December, 1933.

A Brief History of the University of the Panjab. *J.F. Bruce.*

Some Historical Gleanings from old Mission Records. *Ross Wilson.*

- Events leading to the Ambala Expedition. *R.R. Sethi.*
 An Early Scientific Traveller in the Punjab. *H.L.O. Garrett.*
 Four Free-Lance Families. *H. Bullock.*
 The Multan Outbreak of April, 1848. *K.C. Khanna.*
 The Ballads of George Carnac Barnes. *R.R. Sethi.*

Vol. III, Part I, pp. 1—84. April, 1934.

- Further Aspects of Raja Rammohun Roy's Work. *S.K. Datta.*
 The Ambala Campaign, 1863. *R.R. Sethi.*
 Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra. *Sri Ram Sharma.*
 British Policy Towards Sindh, 1834—37. *P.N. Khera.*
 Mutiny Echoes :
 The Mutiny at Cawnpore. *J.F. Bruce.*
 Ricketts' Notes on "The Story of Cawnpore"
 A Punjab Saint. *Ram Chand Manchanda.*
 The Story of Anarkali. *C. Grey.*
 Ancient courses of the Punjab Rivers. *Gulshan Rai.*

Vol. III, Part II, pp. 85—165. December, 1934.

- Who Built the Kutub Minar? *Kanwar Sain.*
 Panic of Sir Robert Montgomery, 1863. *R.R. Sethi.*
 The Marriage and Descendants of George Thomas. *H. Bullock.*
 British Policy Towards Sindh, 1838—40. *P.N. Khera.*
 The Persian Language during the East India Company's Rule. *S.M. Abdullah.*
 Thomas Pratt. *C. Grey.*
 Sir Henry Lawrence. *J.F. Bruce.*

Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 1—88. April, 1935.

- The grounds of Political Obedience in the Indian State. *T. G. P. Spear.*
 The Mission to Kandhar 1857—58. *J.F. Bruce.*
 Royal Titles in the Punjab Hills. *J. Hutchison & J. Ph. Vogel.*
 Maharaja Gulab Singh and the Second Sikh War. *R.R. Sethi.*
 The Rise of Sansar Chand. *Sri Ram Sharma.*
 Andrew Dalgleish. *C. Grev.*

Vol. IV, Part II, pp. 89—171. December, 1935.

- Early English Kingship. *C.M.G. Ogilvie.*
 British Policy towards Sindh 1842—43. *P.N. Khera.*
 Italy and Abyssinia. *J.F. Bruce.*
 The cis-Sutlej States and the First Sikh War. *R.R. Sethi.*

Tarikh-i-Panjab. *Muhammad Baqir Malik*.
First Census of the Punjab, 1855.

✓ Vol. V. April, 1938.

Some aspects of Late Mughal Delhi. *T.G. P. Spear*.

Social Life in the Sikh Kingdom. *P.N. Khera*.

The Historical Background of the present situation in China. *J.F. Bruce*.

India's Contribution to World Civilization. *Lakshman Sarup*.

✓ Vol. VI. pp. 1—110. December, 1940.

The British Advance from the Jumna to Sutlej. *Sunder Lal Bhatta*.

Adina Beg Khan. *Hari Ram Gupta*.

British Policy Towards Sindh. *P.N. Khera*.

The Panjab and the recapture of Delhi, 1857. *V.S. Suri*.

Studies in Indo-Muslim History—A Critical commentary on Elliot and Dowson's. *Abdul Aziz*.

Vol. VII, pp. 1—89. December, 1941.

The East India Company and Persia 1800-1810. *P.N. Kirpal*.

The British Government and Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1809—1814)
S.L. Bhatta.

Vol. VIII pp. 1—122. April, 1944.

Khalisa Nama. *Bakht Mal*.

Tarikh-i-Sikhan. *Anonymous*.

Sher-o-Shakar. *Daya Ram Pandit*.

Umdat-ut-Tawarikh. *Lala Sohan Lal Suri*.

An unpublished Diary of Sikh Times. *M. Ahmad Bakhsh Chisti*.

Zafar Nama. *General M. Ventura*.

Zafar Nama Ranjit Singh. *Dewan Amar Nath*.

Tarikh-i-Panjab. *Ghulam Muhayyud Din*.

Khalis Nama. *Rattan Chund*.

Tazkara-i-Multan. *Anonymous*.

Ibrat Nama. *Mufti Ali-ud-Din*.

Waqai-i-Sikhan. *Devan Ajudhia Parshod*.

Waqai-i-Jang-i- Pheroshahr.

A Narrative of the Battle of Sobrahli (Sabraon).

Sher Singh Nama. *Muhammad Naqi*.

Vol. IX, p. 42. April, 1946.

A Historical and Political Definition of the Terms Nation, Nationality,
Nationalism and State. *M.S. Vairanapillat*.

Pax Islamica (A study of Pan-Islamic Movements). *Khushwant Singh*.

Vol. X, pp. 1—104. June, 1947.

Some Khalsa Darbar Parwanas.

Akhbarat-i-Sikhan Vol. I, Akhbarat-i-Sikhan Vol. III *Anonymous*

Khird Nams-i-Danish. *Vidya Dhar*.

Vol. X, pp. 1—57. April, 1947.

The Private Correspondence of Sir Frederick Currie, *Jogmohan Mahajan*.

Identification of Sandrakottos. *Jagan Nath*

A critical Review of Lord Lawrence's Policy of Masterly Inactivity. *Dharm Pal*.



JOURNAL
OF THE
PANJAB UNIVERSITY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Incorporating the Panjab Historical Society)

VOL. XII

DEC., 1960.

Page

Ministers in the Soviet Union— <i>H. Montgomery Hyde</i>	.. 1
Some Considerations on Historical Research— <i>Prof. Graham</i>	.. 5
The Value of Oriental History for Historians— <i>A. J. Toynbee</i>	.. 17
Muslim Political Consciousness in Indo-Pakistan— <i>Dr. Zafar-ul-Islam</i>	.. 25
Back Numbers	.. 39

by the Generalissimo in the Kremlin on the night of February 18, 1953. Ten days later Stalin was paralysed by the stroke from which he died on March 5.

Accordingly to Mr. Menon, Stalin looked in excellent health and talked fluently through the interpreter who was present. But there were long pauses in the conversation, and Mr. Menon has great difficulty in drawing him out. No such problem arises in the case of an interview with Mr. Khrushchev, the Ambassador assured me. Contrary to one report, which has it that in those last days Stalin's desk was littered with papers requiring his attention, the desk was quite clean except for a single sheet of paper on which Stalin kept doodling with a red pencil. The doodles were easily recognisable as wolves—wolves in singles, wolves in pairs and wolves in packs.

Stalin noticed the Ambassador's interest in what he was doing. "The Russian peasant is very wise", he remarked. "When he sees a wolf, he shoots it".

From what we now know, there seems to be no doubt that at the time of this interview Stalin was contemplating nothing less than the liquidation of all the old members of the Politburo. This wholesale slaughter was to have been carried out with the assistance of the Chief of the Secret Police, Lavrenti Beria. Fortunately for the individuals concerned Stalin was denied the final holocaust. As Mr. Khrushchev put it in his much publicised "secret" speech to the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, "had Stalin remained at the helm for a few more months, Comrades Molotov and Mikoyan would probably not have delivered any speeches at this Congress". Nor for that matter would Premier Khrushchev himself in all likelihood have done so.

With the exception of the detestable Beria and several of his henchmen, none of those who have fallen from power in the post-Stalin period have forfeited their lives as well as their positions.

I happened to be in the Kremlin while the fateful Presidium meeting was taking place at which Mr. Khrushchev was heavily outvoted in the afternoon of June 19, 1957. In fact, I was able to secure a photograph of Mr. Khrushchev as he left the meeting looking extremely preoccupied and drove away with Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Mikoyan. I was to see him again a fortnight later making a triumphal progress along Leningrad's Nevsky Prospekt with President Voroshilov and the Ukrainian Party

chief Alexei Kirichenko. On this occasion he was on his way to deliver his first public pronouncement since the coup by which he had ousted the "anti-party group" in the Presidium, namely Molotov, Kaganovich, Shepilov and Malenkov. To this group Bulganin, Peruvkhin and Saburov are now known to have adhered. Indeed Bulganin in his subsequent grovelling before the Central Committee of the Party confessed that he had actually allowed the members of the group to use his office in the Kremlin for their meetings.

According to Mr. Khrushchev, Marshal Bulganin ("my friend of 20 years") had previously warned him that in the Presidium there were "seven against your four". However, Mr. Khrushchev was to show that, although the proposition that "two plus two equals four" was mathematically correct, "the same certainly could not be applied to politics".

Apart from Mikoyan and Khrushchev himself, none of the foregoing holds the position of authority within the state that he did three years ago, although Peruvkhin was only reduced to candidate membership of the Presidium and Saburov has remained a member of the Central Committee. Although they have fallen from power, they are all alive and kicking today. Indeed, one of them, Molotov, has just made a striking comeback, the first ex-Minister to return to a European post from Siberia.

It may be noted in passing that Voroshilov and Kirichenko are no longer in their old jobs. The former, who may have been suspected of wobbling at the time of the "anti-party" plot, recently relinquished the office of President in favour of Leonid I. Brezhnev, while Kirichenko, previously regarded as one of Mr. Khrushchev's likeliest successors, has been demoted to a minor post in Rostov-on-Don. Kirichenko, who is supposed to have become too big for his boots, is said to have precipitated his downfall by peremptorily summoning Mr. Mikoyan to his office by telephone. But there may be more to it than that.

The most interesting member of the original "anti-party" group is undoubtedly Vyacheslav M. Molotov, former Soviet Premier, Foreign Minister and close confidant of Stalin. He is perhaps the only one of Mr. Khrushchev's defeated opponents to preserve the respect and esteem of the Soviet people. In July, 1957, he was exiled to Outer Mongolia, nominally as Ambassador of the U. S. S. R. In spite of this remarkable downgrading, he maintained his new position with considerable dignity and discretion, and I have been told on good authority that his despatches from Ulan Bator were just as thorough and detailed as when he was Stalin's foreign affairs

expert in the Kremlin. Last year there was talk of transferring him as Soviet Ambassador to the Hague — possibly for reasons of health, as he suffers from a chronic liver complaint; but news of the proposed move leaked out and the Dutch consequently declined to accept him. Now, at the age of 70, he has gone to Vienna as third Soviet representative at the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Except for Malenkov, all the other members of the "anti-party" group, who were banished in 1957, are now back in Moscow and have been seen about there, Lazar M. Kaganovich (67), one-time Commissar for Heavy Industry and the only Jew in the Presidium, who was despatched to the Urals to manage a cement factory, has been given a pension. He lives in the same suburban block of flats as Guy Burgess, late of the Foreign Office, and is at present engaged in writing his memoirs. In this connection he travels every day on the Moscow underground (which incidentally he was largely responsible for constructing) to the Lenin Library near the Red Square, and by a strange quirk of fortune usually buys his ticket at the Kaganovich station named after him.

Dmitri T. Shepilov (55), former Foreign Minister and editor of *Pravda*, who was appointed to the faculty of an institute in Kirghizia, now has a lecturing job in Moscow. A friend of mine recently sat beside him at the theatre, where he was having a night off and obviously enjoying the current performance of *The Brothers Karamazov*. As for Nikolai A. Bulganin (65), back from Stavropol, where he has been the Regional Economic Commissioner, he too has got his pension; he is said to be enjoying life in his Moscow apartment, where there is no shortage of vodka, and to be looking more than ever like an unsuccessful river boat gambler who has been "living it up".

There remains plump 58-year-old Geogri M. Malenkov, who is still in Kazakhstan, where for the past three years he has been running the electric power station at Ust-Kamenogorsk. This may be regarded as an example of divine justice, since he undoubtedly has more to answer for than any of the others. As Stalin's principal private secretary he marked down for destruction thousands of innocent party comrades during the period of the purges and the terror. Now it has fallen to him to sum up the present dispensation most succinctly.

Asked how, having lost his job as Soviet Prime Minister, he has managed to survive, Malenkov replied: "I represent the new Russia. We don't shoot people any more".

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON HISTORICAL RESEARCH

It has been said of the classic German historians that one may find throughout their writings two elements, the scientific and the emotional, the reverence for the fact and the passion for the idea. Actually, it is ideas that save any historian from becoming or remaining a mere digger of documents a drudge and a pedant; but the search for ideas or illuminating concepts should not take place under conditions too far removed from those under which we live and toil in archives and library. I was reminded some time ago (at the end of another historical discussion) of Gulliver's visit to the city of Lagado, where he (Gulliver) discovered a zealous architect whose optimistic principle of construction was to begin with the roof, and then find materials for the foundation. It is always tempting especially for the teacher to ease the task of rapid reconstruction with nice patterns of historical presuppositions and half-truths, which may quite possible, one day, turn into popular mythologies.

Certainly such historical interpretations or systems have been fashionable, and have had a powerful, and sometimes enduring influence on human thought. The Ptolemaic cosmogony may have crumbled away, but it would be unwise to be patronizing and under-estimate the potency of so fashionable a system when it existed.

This demand for a simple and superficially logical interpretation of the past exists partly because mankind, especially today, wants simple formulae to explain a hideously complex world. As Adlai Stevenson put it: Man lives on by bread alone, but principally by catchwords. Radio and T. V. have increased this appetite. Hence no doubt the temptation for learned men to make incursions into the field of historical philosophy; and readers who appreciate their learning sometimes fail to distinguish between their facts and their exuberant interpretations of them. Assertions of trend and tendency—causation history often represent stream-lined scaffoldings erected on selected facts. Of course, the historian must generalize but it is well to recognize that different sets of facts can support different kinds of generalizations. (I am thinking of large spans Spengler, Toynbee). (Unfortunately when a well-known historian starts putting down his personal interpretations on one or several epochs, because he has a reputation in his field, his personal judgments are apt to impress, even though based

on insufficient evidence ; and sometimes these historians can build up 'schools' and become national or international idols.)

In my college days, with the Beards and the Laskis lending their weight, the doctrine of economic causation especially economic causation of last war, it was the favourite doctrine in most North American universities (history). To doubt the established system showed naivete, lack of original thought ; e.g., before anyone had actually done scrupulous research on World War I, its economic causes were apt to be assumed. (They counted in that War hardly at all). On the whole, it is fair to say that this outlook was based on an uncritical acceptance of distorted facts—or rather on a distortion of history. It was essentially "conjectural" history. I well remember at Cambridge being shown a printed essay by a young philosopher on the earlier Crusades, which proved conclusively that markets and raw materials counted entirely religious passion, superficial. No careful research had been done and the person involved was not an historian.

In other words, every *a priori* interpretation must have its dress of facts; and in the case of my own subject — Imperial History there has always been substantial stock at hand some of them rather effective half-truths, revealing, e.g., the association of imperialism with capitalism. To some simplicity is attractive even seductive. Many of you who have been toiling doubtfully and cautiously must marvel that the the complexities with which you deal can be reduced to a simple pattern.

One prize example of how simple the interpretation can be is provided in a paragraph by the late Harold Laski :

"No one now denies that the British occupation of Egypt was undertaken in order to secure the investment of British bondholders; and that the South African War was simply a sordid struggle for the domination of his gold mine for the Mexico under Napoleon III was an effort to protect state. Nicaragua, Haiti, San Domingo, to take only the most notable cases, have all been reduced to the position of American provinces in the interest of American capitalists.

The Russo-Japanese war was, in the last analysis, the outcome of an endeavour by a corrupt Government to defend the immense concession in Manchuria of a little band of dubious courtiers. The savage cruelties of the Congo; the struggle between British and American financiers for the control of Mexican oil; the fight

between Germany and the Entente for the domination of pre-war Turkey; the reduction of Tunis to the position of a French dependency; the Japanese strangulation of Korean nationalism; all these are merely variations upon an identical theme.

Men have sought a special profitable source of investment. They have been able to utilize their Government to protect their interest; and, in the last analysis, the Government becomes so identified with the investor, that an attack on his profit is equated with a threat to the national honour. In those circumstances the armed forces of the state are, in fact, the weapon he employs to guarantee his privileges. ¹

Examine these arguments at leisure, and see how many would withstand honest historical inspection. Each case is a complicated one, although one might, (in the words of Jacob Viner), reverse the Laski thesis (re. capitalist vis-a-vis Government) and come a good deal closer to the truth. In almost all these cases, the capitalist instead of pushing his Government into an imperialistic enterprise in pursuit of his own gain, was himself pushed or shoved or lured into it by his Government, which might then be able to point to a legitimate economic stake in the territory involved. (Admittedly, in some instances, large and perhaps unsavoury profits of investors were present but that is a different matter). Laski's point was essentially that imperialist aggression originated in a desire to promote the financial interests of a few or groups of wealthy capitalists.

Some years ago, in the course of a discussion on the Enclosure Movement, Tawney remarked that what economic historians needed was fewer documents and tougher boots. In this age of hasty effort to establish historical syntheses, and when incipient Laskis contemplate thatching their mansions in advance of foundations, perhaps one may pray for fewer brilliant concepts and more factual bricks and mortar.

There is danger in tracing comprehensive pattern of interpretation for one may easily become a prisoner of one's own technique. The author must of course use what we now call scientific methods of research, but he must not ask for scientific solutions. The temptation to find logical answers is very great today, viz., the temptation to explain the present by the past. Ruthless honesty is the main safeguard against spacious philosophies or easy casuistry.

On the other hand, aware of the possibility of our own extinction in this atomic age, we are probably less arrogant about the past than were some of our predecessors. There is no need today to warn young historians against patronizing the past; we know too well that we are not the 'top cream' of any long historical process; that we are not "the heirs of all the ages". There is a good deal less talk of *progress* than there was before 1939.

And yet it remains a formidable task to project oneself backwards into history to absorb the ethos of the time, to properly estimate the apparent villain and the apparent saint. Can a twentieth century agnostic understand and properly interpret Gladstone? Can a very young person really do justice to diplomacy which involves the thrust and counter-thrust of tough men like Bismarck, Palmerston, Guizot, Rhodes or Chamberlain. It is necessary to have lived life fully not necessarily sinfully to deal intelligently with human beings who like any civil servant must subordinate not honour, but intellectual effort to action, who like Machiavelli have to compromise or be evasive. One must know something about life, (and even to enjoy life) to teach history and perhaps to write it too. Some of my own students will, I think, deal differently with Chamberlain and even Rhodes when they have aged; they need not become necessarily more tolerant of sin there is still room for righteous indignation in historical writing but they are likely to be more aware of the limitations which beset human beings in their national and international environments.

This is the age of scientific method as applied to historical research; our grandfathers did not have the tools and techniques that we have developed in the twentieth century. But that is no reason for ignoring the old historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who could think and write with a breadth and generosity of spirit that sometimes eludes us today. Historical research is not a game or a mechanical efficiency test; the object is to bring the past to life as accurately as possible, and that means more than squeezing a few documents, and adding the paraphernalia of references. It is possible for an immature student or one with a particular bent or bias to have correct documentary references, and yet write completely unreliable history. The footnote reference is not necessarily the sign of the scholar; and apart entirely from pretentious padding (e.g., in some Ph. D. theses) the reference simply indicates a source which may or may not have been explored and tested with scholarly care and acumen.

The key to scholarship is not then to be found in the accumulation of formidable reference which denote breadth and depth of documentary toil; it is not simply a question of methods or techniques. Indeed, the danger of strictly historical method courses is that they may encourage parochialism and pedantry.

In this connection I should like to quote from a lecture delivered by one of our great historians, Sir Charles Webster to the Historical Association in 1956.

"I have a considerable distrust of lecturers, books and articles which tell you how history should be written or taught. In both these fields action is far more stimulating than precept. We learn more about how historians write from their books than by anything which they tell us about themselves, and university teachers, at any rate, make their main contribution to the teaching of history by their effect on their pupils.

"There are, of course, techniques of research and teaching that can be described and in this way handed on to others. The great changes of the last fifty years have been in part brought about by the sharing of such knowledge amongst us all. But it is difficult to know very much about what I may call the strategy and tactics tactics of historians, the causes which determined their subjects of study and the manner in which they attained, however imperfectly, the ends which they had set before themselves. When I was a young man I was able to meet most of the historians whose works I regarded as a model for my own studies, and I tried to entice them to tell me the secrets of their craft. On occasions I got from such men as Fournier, Pribram or Schieman a *vid phrase* or anecdote, which illuminated one's own experience like a lightning flash. But much more could be found out about their technique by reading their books and the materials from which their books had been made."

With all the photostats and microfilm and card catalogues and statistical machines, history is not a product of established routines. History is still essentially a handicraft; mechanical devices and techniques of research are an aid, but they are no substitute for scholarly learning, disciplined imagination, judgment, instinct. As Webster says, the great historians do not surrender the secrets of their craft readily; great scholars who write

sometimes on dull themes and produce works of art like Maitland or Haskins or Gibbon or Ranke are probably unaware of any secrets beyond the generalizations that anyone like myself can make. But they were men of learning; and we at least can read the works of learned men, try to absorb something of their ethos, and in process gain better sense of historical proportion. In other words, if you wish to be strictly utilitarian in your approach to history, you may correctly regard the reading of historical 'classics' as essential to the progress of post-graduate research. The classics or great works of history should stir the imagination, pull the student out of the rut of his own researches by suggesting new ideas or approaches; and also indirectly, I would hope, show him something of the art of expression and narrative, and how the mind of a first-class historian works. In short, you won't judge wisely, if you don't read widely. As G. M. Trevelyan once remarked to me: 'If you have any originality in your make-up, you won't become imitative, but you are likely to be influenced.' Therefore, study not only the architecture of a great prose work in English or any other language, but the author's method of weighing his evidence, arranging his thought and arriving at judicial conclusions. Only by so doing can you glimpse, if not grasp, the meaning of scholarship.

There is frequently a tendency for the younger student to give all the glory to the original document—the indispensable tool of the 'scientific' historian. We are all well aware of the essential and vital importance of the written documents—otherwise there would be little or no history—but they are not sacred cows, even in terms of degree—getting. Printed stuff—contemporary reports, official reports, statistical accounts, biographical material—may be as basically useful as the hand-written despatch. Printed material can be original or primary material; execrable handwriting may add romantic pleasure, but not necessarily supply a unique authority.

In my experience, one great danger for the graduate student is his fear of the examiner, whom he assumes must be appeased by an abundance of documentary facts. (Actually, if a thesis is well-written, the document should be submerged almost beyond recognition in the narrative; too much documentary padding simply obscures the main points). Consequently, the secondary authorities when they exist are apt to be ignored or slighted. The student is fearful of using facts or thoughts perchance he may be repeating commonplaces. But the omission of relevant secondary works, on the ground that only new or documentary material provides the proper exercise for the display of scholarship is a form of pretentious nonsense, if

not arrogance, which ordinarily weakens the authority of the thesis. Even a bad book may be useful guide by way of illuminating contrasts in interpretation—but whatever the quality it is proper to give credit to the author of the book, who may indeed have broken the ground, and saved the student from obscurities and banalities.

Ordinarily, one masters the secondary authorities (as background) first. The student should keep his own card catalogue exact title, place and date of publication—and possibly on the back of the card some reference to the value of the book. Soak up the secondary stuff; don't feel you must claim everything from original records alone. Learn the art of skimming or squeezing a volume. Deft use of the index is one sign of the trained student. But in preparing background beware of going back too far, or you may never get started on your main task. Similarly, I think it is a mistake to spend months preparing a bibliography—a kind of tempting detective work which leads one on and on. A basic bibliography you need, obviously; but it does not have to be complete. Once you have made a start with your subject you will be in a better position to know what published works or articles will best serve your needs.

No matters how well you plan, if your subject lends itself to a plan even before you begin meticulous work, it is almost always difficult to see the end. In a sense you have to be led by the evidence of the documents, and that means much hard toil, for in building up your mass of material, you cannot in the earlier stages know what is relevant and what is not. The utter waste in research work is unbelievably great. Yet one must go on building up 'mass', being careful on the one hand not to get 'bogged down' and, on the other hand, alert to the possibilities of significant side-lines that may subsequently prove important to the main theme, or as bye-products subsequently make good articles.

Some people use cards for note-taking; I prefer sheets of paper—they are cheap, and may be cut-up; in my experience the card is inhibiting; one tries to summarize too concisely, in order to fit the material on one or two cards. On paper you can write as you will—heading your sheets that they may be subsequently filed together according to topics. But whatever you use—cards or sheets of paper or exercise books—leave plenty of space between the lines, with a wide margin for additions of thought or information. Indeed, it is wise to write down your thoughts on the material 'hot' as you go along; such interpretations or chance comments may be invaluable later, when, say, two years after the topic has cooled, you cannot

recall a full impression of the scene or of the particular impact of a document or a series of documents vis-a-vis your argument. For example, if, having run through a file it occurs to you that the Colonial Office is really little concerned with the fate of island or colony; or if the Treasury in your opinion has exhibited unusual generosity or, more probably, considerable parsimony in dealing with X colony, write down your impressions. Or, if after reading files of Board of Trade Correspondence regularly headed "Their Lordships requested" etc., you discover that at a succession of meetings only the Clerks and one Lord made up a quorum, you may be able to conclude that the Board for this period was chiefly run by a handful of poorly paid permanent officials. If you do not record such tentative conclusions at the time, you may have forgotten two years later that such a problem existed.

Sometimes the topics to be dealt with are clear in advance; frequently in an untilled field one is not sure in the beginning what the significant topics are. I have not myself gone in for "planned" writing, chiefly because I have not always known where I was going, or, rather, where the materials were going to lead me. In uncertain circumstances, one can only build up "mass" with an idea or ideas in mind—an instinct, if you like, that such and such a road may lead to an end—and let things gradually take shape. As material accumulates and knowledge widens, things, should take shape.

This brings me to another point, where personal characteristics or temperament comes in. Once the student has accumulated the "mass"—the bulk, let us say, of his materials, should he try to think through it, and then sit down and write as nearly as possible a complete chapter or section; or should he, as an aid to thought, unscramble the material roughly by simply writing down perhaps chronologically everything under one topic that he has found, and count on, say, five revision or re-writings to give him his chapter or section?

There is a lot to be said for the preliminary rough draft. To write well is always difficult and if one tries too hard the result may be lamentable in terms of style and thought, because the postgraduate student has come straight from gigantic piles of notes: he knows he will ultimately be examined on the fruits of his toil, and the inhibitions generated in consequence, have in my experience, made many an incipient historian mentally muscle-bound.

If a man's thoughts are not fluent—if he has not *thought* himself through his materials, it is not a bad idea to begin by reproducing in sum-

mary from the notes that have been gathered; simply putting down, as I have said, the information, and not worrying about manner of expression, or even the grammar; putting down the facts as they may appear to be, and ignoring for the time being vital relationships between the facts.

I do know historians who can go directly from notes to chapter; who think through their materials, and then write. Langer is one example. They save themselves, in so doing, much mechanical toil — the constant revisions that are involved under the second method.

Personally, probably because of my own limitations of intellect, I prefer the second method of "mucking about"—writing and re-writing until the subject comprehensible and begins to take shape. (One uses up enormous amounts of paper, but even in Britain paper is still the cheapest part of the student's equipment). Gradually the main points or relationships come to the surface; and as the chapter takes shape they begin to stand out clearly above the background of detail which supports the argument.

Actually the mechanical work of writing is not really mechanical; it is the younger or slower man's way of thought. Revising or recasting involves critical thought; new conceptions or "slants" develop from what is already written. There should be, indeed, inspiration in the very task of re-writing what has been written. History, we rightly say, is an art, but the art becomes, in a sense, associated with empirical science, simply because truths are discovered to be not simply facts or events, but relationships between events. For example, the shifting of some material from one chapter or section to another may throw new light on the whole picture, and give the nearer or truer proportion.

By this, I do not mean to suggest that 'juggling with facts' **PRODUCES BETTER HISTORY**. There are charlatans in every profession; but on the whole it is recognized that the well-disciplined historian is the honest one—who does not build his philosophic scaffolding, and then force his facts within and about it. (Perhaps that is one reason why I am not enthusiastic about philosophies of history, unless *Accient in Hidstory* may be called a species of philosophy).

The key to writing history, then, is building up relationships between events, and that again involves the serious problem of unity—the bug-bear of historical writing. For many subjects lack a complete unity, and sometimes must be divided into sections with a frank admission (e.g. Innis God

Fisheries) that there is no essential unity. (Cf. *Fur Trade in Canada*). None the less, whatever the subject some formal kind of unity is essential; and perhaps the most serious of the student is the search for the vital thread or threads. Within the chapters especially the relationships between men and events must be made clear; in other words, the careful exposition of detail must take shape in the form of narrative—and to describe clearly and palatably what you have dug out of the P. R. O. or B. M. etc., reasonably simply requires great art. Transitional paragraphs have to be built up in order that the reader may perceive that even while a new topic is coming under discussion, the substance of the new and of the preceding topic are allied, and related to a general theme.

To put it another way, the art or craft of writing history becomes more than a matter of writing good English or Swedish or what you will; it involves architecture—the creation of a structure out of untidy masses of accumulated evidence—based on the discovery of relations between the pieces which are facts or events. Once the main thread has been found, the task of building logically and solidly, if not beautifully, becomes much simpler.

Of course, one must not press architectural unity too far. (There again the matter of one's own integrity and judgment is decisive). As I have already remarked, sometimes chronology has to be abandoned, and the subject dealt with in sections, which unlike chapters have no necessarily close relationship to one theme. Such a division is obviously necessary when one is, say, dealing with the total history of an area within a certain period of time. On the whole, it is best if the beginner can find a subject of fairly simple consistency; but even when there is doubt, the student should not jump into a work of detached sections as the easy way out, until he has proved to his own satisfaction that his problems are too complex to be considered within a unified and integrated whole. He should try for a simple narrative treatment; and not infrequently he may discover that as a result of intensive thought he has found a thread, or main line of argument, which reduces a complex theme to sensible order, if not to simplicity. For clear writing is usually proof of clear thinking; simplicity and clarity are reflected in cogent generalizations and effective conclusions. But many weary hours, and much wading in turbulent or muddy waters usually precedes that happy achievement.

In brief, then, the art of the historian is to give meaning to so-called facts; and despite the pains and boredoms that are every author's lot, there

is, I like to believe, an acquired and growing pleasure in the exercise of the art.

Admittedly, there are excitements in the writing of history that transcend the elementary patterns I have tried to lay down; there are the exhilarating moments that follow a significant or a startling discovery — a documentary find that clinches the argument or illuminates an entire problem. Ordinarily, however, an argument is not advanced, or proven, on the basis of a single document, but rather on an honest assessment of many documents. I say assessment because the author's conclusions, independently arrived at, may not necessarily be completely true — truth like justice has many sides—but they do at least represent the author's intense effort to reach at least one side of the truth.

Finally I do not for one moment suppose that historians by their training become wiser than other men. But I do claim that history is a career for the dedicated Few who by interpreting to the best of their abilities the past experience of the human race at least make wisdom possible. Historians like other professional castes or guilds may occasionally overglorify or exaggerate their talents or their skills, but if they are good historians they will refuse to exploit them in the interests of politics, prejudice or a point of view. Complete integrity is probably a rare quality in any profession, but in so far as it is realizable, it is fundamental to the historian. The personal moral index of the scholar is more important in the long run than his technical competence.



THE VALUE OF ORIENTAL HISTORY FOR HISTORIANS

I

THE WESTERN DISTORTION OF HISTORY

(i) Trying to be an historian means trying to jump clear of the particular time and place at which one happens to have been born and brought up. It means trying to look at History from some standpoint that is outside one's own, and that is more central, and therefore more objective, than one's own is likely to be. This is the first, the most important, and the most difficult piece of business on the historian's agenda.

(ii) Actually, this ideal can never be achieved by the historian more than partially. Every current view of past history turns out, on analysis, to be partly a reading, into the past, of present conditions which *may* illuminate the past but are quite as likely to obscure and confuse our vision of it.

(iii) In the latest age of the World's history, which, in our generation, is only just ceasing to be the present age, the salient feature has been the predominance of the West in the World. This feature in the contemporary landscape has been reflected in the modern West's presentation of the World's past history. Modern Western historians have been inclined to make the World's history centre round Western Europe. The earlier history of both Asia and Egypt and Eastern Europe was made to lead up to the mediaeval and modern history of Western Europe. Asia, and Africa are not brought back on to the stage, and the Americans are not brought on to the stage, before the last years of the fifteenth century of the Christian Era. The Americas are then presented as a field for colonization by West Europeans, and Asia and Africa as fields for exploitation by West Europeans.

(iv) Owing to the temporary predominance of the West over the rest of the World, there has been a tendency, in the rest of the World, to take over this Western view of history uncritically, together with the dominant Western Civilization's other manners and customs.

(v) This consensus is a testimony to the contemporary power and prestige of the West, but it is not evidence that the West-centred view of History is right. Actually, this view corresponds with the facts only for

the years 1492—1914, or perhaps indeed only for the years 1683—1914. The West's predominance in the World was not indisputably established until after the raising of the second Turkish siege of Vienna ; and in 1914 this Western ascendancy suffered the first of the blows that have now shattered it.

(vi) Down to the close of the fifteenth century, Western Christendom was in an outlying position, at one end of a festoon of civilizations stretching right across the Old World. Japan, at the opposite extremity of the festoon, was the only other province of Civilization that was as remote from the centre as Western Christendom was till that date.

(vii) The invention, in the fifteenth century, of the ocean-going modern Western sailing-ship made Western Europe suddenly become the centre of the World, instead of continuing to be one of the Old World's two dead-ends. The new type of sailing-ship gave its Western inventors the command of the Ocean, and this gave them access, by sea, to the domains of all the other living civilizations.

(viii) But this map of the World, with Western Europe as the World's centre, has been short-lived. The invention of railways in the nineteenth century, and of aeroplanes in the twentieth century, has been bringing the map back to its normal shape, in which the centre is, not Western Europe, but South-West Asia and Egypt.

The mediaeval Western map of the World, in which the centre of the World was taken to be Jerusalem, was much nearer to the normal than the modern Western map, in which the centre had been taken to be, first Western Europe, and then the Atlantic Ocean.

Since the French and British conquests in India in the eighteenth century, Egypt and South-west Asia have been progressively recovering their historic central position (a) as the region offering the short overland or Suez Canal route between India and Western Europe, in place of the long sea-route round the Cape of Good Hope ; (b) as the bridge between the two areas in which the World's population is massed : India, South-east Asia, Eastern Asia on the one side, and Europe and North America on the other ; (c) as the World's largest unexhausted reservoir of mineral oil.

(ix) On a map of the World in which South-west Asia and Egypt are the centre, the civilizations to the east of the centre count for as much

as the civilizations to the west of the centre. And the civilizations of the first two generations count for as much as those of the present generation.

E. g. in the Americas, History is not blank before the arrival of conquerors from Western Europe at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the Christian Era ; the pre-Columbian civilizations of Middle America and Peru take their place in History on an equal footing with the civilizations of the Old World.

II

LIGHT FROM THE EAST

When once we have brought the histories of all the civilizations back into focus, and have reduced the history of the Western Civilization to its proper position and proportion, we gain light on the history of Mankind which is hidden from us so long as the Western Civilization's history is allowed to eclipse all the rest of history.

(i) *Light on the Origins of Civilization :*

When, where, and how did the kind of society that we call Civilization arise ? Our Western Civilization is a civilization of the third generation, so its history throws no light on the origin of the species of which it is one representative. To find light on this we must look to South-west Asia and Egypt, and dig down to the Neolithic stratum there. The foothills of the ring of mountains half encircling the plains of 'Iraq on the north, east, and west seem to have been the region in which agriculture was invented and in which this new source of food supply made it possible for people to live a sedentary life, in villages. What are the salient features that differentiate Civilization from this previous Neolithic life ? Perhaps three : (a) the emergence of towns, in addition to villages ; (b) the emergence of a small class not directly engaged in producing food ; (c) the invention, by this leisured minority, of writing, mathematics, and astronomy.

N. B.—In Middle America, astronomy was carried far, but writing not very far ; in Andean America, writing was never invented ; the Inca Empire kept its administrative records by means of quipus (strings of different colours with different kinds and sequences of knots in them).

In the Old World, Civilization seems to have been started by Neolithic agriculturists reclaiming the jungle-swamp of the Lower Tigris-Euphrates basin, and thereby opening up much more fertile agricultural land over a much larger area. From the plains of 'Iraq, this new way of life spread to other river basins of the same kind ; to the lower Nile basin quickly, to the Indus basin not quite as soon, to the Yellow River basin decidedly later. About the time when Civilization took root in the Indus basin, it also took root in a new kind of physical environment : the Aegean archipelago. Here the main artery of communications was not a

river, but was the sea ; and navigation, instead of the control of river waters, became the master art.

(ii) *Light on the Origins of the Higher Religions :*

By ' higher religions ' I mean those which present a, to our minds, loftier vision of the nature of God or Absolute Reality, and of God's attitude towards, and behavior to, human beings.

The chief representatives of this higher kind of religion that are alive to-day are Southern Buddhism (the Hinayana), Jainism, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Northern Buddhism (the Mahayana), Hinduism, Christianity, Islam.

Other higher religions have become extinct or have been swallowed up by one or other of the still surviving higher religions : e.g. Mithraism and the worships of Cybele, Isis, and Juppiter Dolichenus were partly extinguished and partly absorbed by Christianity.

The history of our Western Civilization throws no light on the origins of the higher religions. Western Europe has not been the cradle of any one of them. South-west Asia and India have been the two regions in which the majority of the higher religions have made their first appearance. Within these two regions, two provinces have been specially fertile in bringing higher religions to birth : (a) Syria, in the widest geographical sense of the name, including everything that lies between the Antitaurus, the Mediterranean, and the Arabian desert, with the Hijaz thrown in ; (b) Central Asia, in the widest sense of the name, including the Oxus-Jaxartes basin and the Tarim basin, with the Punjab thrown in.

These two provinces have one significant common characteristic : both are ' roundabouts ' : i. e. meeting-places of route that coverage from far afield and radiate out in all directions. Because of this convergence of routes, Central Asia and Syria have been ' melting-pots ' in which elements of population and culture drawn from several different civilizations have met and fused.

When we turn from the space-dimension to the time-dimension, we find that the higher religions have arisen in the two Asian ' roundabouts ' at times in which civilizations of the second generation have broken down and disintegrated, and in which they have also collided with each other. These breakdowns and catastrophes took the form of wars, revolutions, strocities, deportations, evictions, and the intermingling of ' displaced

persons' in conditions of extreme suffering. This has been the social milieu in which the higher religions have come to birth. In the history of the Western Civilization, there has been nothing like this till the hour of war and revolution that began in 1914 and that is still continuing to-day.

(iii) *Light on the Contact between different Civilizations in the Pre-Oceanic Overland Age :*

For 400 years beginning in the fifteenth century of the Christian Era, the Ocean was the main medium of intercourse between the domains of the different living civilizations, and the sailing-ship was the instrument through which the Ocean was turned to account. From about the eighteenth century B. C. to the fifteenth century of the Christian Era, the part played in the following chapter of history by the Ocean was played by the Steppe, and the part played by the sailing-ship was played by the horse.

The Steppe is a kind of dry Ocean. Like the Ocean, it adjoins the domains of all the civilizations of the Old World. Like the Ocean, again, it is 'conductive'. Peoples, tools, weapons, languages, ideas, ideals, styles of art that established themselves in any corner of the Steppe rapidly spread to all other parts of the Steppe, and thence into the domains of adjoining civilizations.

Neolithic pottery : Danube to Kansu

(Illustrations : the spread of 'the Animal Style' of art over, and out of, the Steppe to China in one direction and Scandinavia in the other ; the spread of the Sarmation military equipment to China in one direction and to Western Europe in the other).

The role of serving as the intermediaries between different civilizations, which was played by Western seamen from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century of the Christian Era, was played by the Eurasian Nomads during the preceding 3000 years and more.

In Turkey in the nineteen-twenties, President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was annoyed, and at the same time stimulated, by the current West-centred chart of world history ; so he produced a history of the World centred, not on Western Europe, but on the Turks. This view of History was derided by Westerners, yet it was a true view of the historical facts over a period twice as long as the 400 years during which Western Europe has in

truth been the centre of the World. For eight centuries—from the fourth to the twelfth century of the Christian Era—the Turkish-speaking Nomads were masters of the Eurasian Steppe, and during these eight centuries they really did play the central role in the history of the Old World. In the fourth and fifth centuries the Huns, who were the first westward-breaking wave of Turkish-speaking Nomads out of the Steppe, invaded China, India, Persia, and Europe simultaneously. As recently as the eighteenth century, Turkish-speaking dynasties were still ruling the centre of the Old World from India to the Crimea inclusive and from the Oxus-Jaxartes basin to Algeria inclusive.

Moreover, the Turks were neither the first nor the last swarm of Eurasian Nomads to play this central role in the history of the Old World. From the eighteenth century B. C. to the fourth century of the Christian Era, this role had been played by Sanskrit-speaking and Iranian-speaking Nomads who had spread eastwards as far as the north-west fringes of China, southwards as far as the Deccan, and westwards as far as Syria, Anatolia, and Hungary. In the thirteenth century the Turks' successors, the Mongols, simultaneously invaded China and Burma, Persia and Iraq, Russia and Hungary. It was only in the seventeenth century that the Eurasian Nomads were at last encircled by the sedentary civilizations, when the Russians, advancing eastwards, made contact with the Manchus, advancing westward, in the original homeland of the Mongols on the border between Transbaikul and Manchuria. It was not till the eighteenth century that the Manchus, wielding the whole power of China, united under their rule, subdued the Mongols' cousins the Kalmucks. It was not till the nineteenth century that the Russians subdued the last surviving independent Turkish-speaking Nomads : the Türkmens of Transcaspia.

Thus the horsemen of the Eurasian steppe have had a much longer innings as the protagonists on the stage of history than the seamen of Western Europe.

I have now given three illustrations of the light that is thrown on History by giving Asia *he due*. I could add many more, but there is no time for these within the limits of one lecture, and I hope my three illustrations are enough to make my point. The point is as simple as it is important : the value of Oriental history for historians.

MUSLIM POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN INDO-PAKISTAN

(The Study and its Problems)

By Dr. Zafar ul Islam

The answer to the question whether a study of the rise (and growth) of political consciousness in a given community falls under the general scope of historical studies is dependent upon the conception and definition of the historical discipline. If history is defined in narrow limits to consider only the political and military exploits of sovereign states—because of the underlying assumption that State plays a preponderant role in the life of a people—or the deeds and misdeeds of men who run and administer states in such a manner that they are identifiable with them, the study of a community's political consciousness is excluded from the category of history. On the other hand, a more comprehensive definition of history has developed and since the advent of the present century historians have increasingly allowed their partisanship to this view under which history 'tends to embrace life in the entirety of its aspect' and is viewed as the systematic narration of all that has happened in the past of man in his social, cultural, political, religious and economic life. This attitude towards historical reconstitution aims at 'cultural' as distinct from 'political' history and establishes facts on a different plane. It is in this sense that the study could be classified as a legitimate historical study.

The question of legitimacy may be particularized by reflecting on the plausibility of a differentiation between the political consciousness of a community and its politics. Further, were that distinction permissible, would it be correct to denote the activities of the Indo-Pakistan Muslims in the last century or so as 'politics'? In the Western world politics is understood to mean as organized social activity within the framework of a democracy with a view to capturing or maintaining political power exploiting certain recognized techniques of a mass contact in a defined legal manner. Such a concept is irrelevant to the British rule in the sub-continent which presents an entirely different situation, that of gradually displacing a foreign political authority through means not generally considered illegal by that authority—in fact the authority abated it through a host of direct and indirect media. It may be platitudinous

to suggest, nevertheless it is immensely significant, that regular party strife which fills the arena of politics in Western democracies, is a concept not applicable to Indian politics, Muslim or Non-Muslim, viewed severally or mutually, during the fateful years of British Rule in the subcontinent.

In this study political consciousness denotes the realm of the mind, the field of ideas in contradistinction to the field of political activities which constitutes 'politics'. The distinction between the mental and the practical is not always easy to maintain, much less to explain, because of the intricate and complex mingling of human thought and action. It should, however, be noted that political consciousness is not the same thing as political thought because the latter suggests a coherent system of political ideas, synthetically integrated together, with the purpose of stimulating or enervating the phenomenon of reaching common agreement in an independent polity; while the former is taken to denote the initial stirrings which make a community aware of its condition and status in a general political setup usually involving political servitude. The history of political consciousness is then a study and the process of communal self-realization, a process which has its discoverers, exponents and policy-makers, in other words, its leaders, but no political thinkers in the generally accepted connotation.

The technique of historical periodization when applied to the cumulative Muslim thinking and activity *vis-a-vis* the adjustment to or displacement of British dominance or the domestic peril, also illustrates the vaibility of the differentiation between political consciousness and politics. The dividing line is the year 1906 A. D. the year of the so called 'command performance' of the Agha Khan Deputation (Simla) and the year of the foundation of the All-India Muslim League. The period before 1906 is the Period of 'political consciousness, its rise and development, and the years 1906—1947 the period of Muslim 'Politics'.

The only valid objection to this periodization is the foundation of the Central National Muhammadan Association, (Calcutta) 1878, Ameer Ali, the United Patriotic Association (1888, Sir Syed Ahmed) and the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association of Upper India (Sir Syed Ahmad, 1893). An analytical study of these three political associations reveals that they were more germane to the realm of Muslim political consciousness. Undoubtedly they attempted to organize the disintegrated Muslim community on a common political platform. However,

it is not difficult to see, especially in retrospect, that they served only as the fore-runners of a politically active all-India organization. Even with the best intentions of their founders they were academic in their nature. Their foundation was essential, as it were ; but their significance has mostly in the field of ideas for their political activity was negligible.

Muslim political consciousness is not synonymous with the self-consciousness of the community. The two are distinct, one being the result of the other. From the 13th to the 18th Century when Muslims ruled a substantial portion of India effectively they were a distinguished community, politically, culturally and socially. The definiteness of their religion, the use of different classical languages, (Persian and Arabic), the development of a different common language (Urdu), the exclusive administration of their civil, religious and criminal laws, the periodical exodus of Muslims of non-Indians origin into India, the social and cultural estrangement and antagonism between the conquerors and the conquered and the failure or subject applicability of an eclectical religion like the Din-e-Elahi, were, amongst others, some of the forces at work enumerated by scholars, (Prof. C. H. Phillips), S. M. Ikram, Dr. Tara Chand, Prof. T. G. P. Spear ; Farquhar ; Murray Titus, etc.) which helped them retain their identity and self-consciousness. Political consciousness, in so far as it was the by-product of this self-consciousness or in other words in its expression of Muslim separation in the late Indo-Pakistan politics is, on the other hand, a quite recent process.

This leads to the question ; how old is political consciousness amongst the Muslims of the sub-continent ? Is it correct to assume that its first symptoms appeared after the return of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan from England when he launched his ' Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq ' ?

A study of Muslim political consciousness may be made in its two phases : Under the British and the pre-British. Though it may be generally assumed that the Muslim awareness of the Community's political deterioration arose and developed under the British but during the last few years Muslims of the subcontinent have emphasized upon its Pre-British phase. The historical researches of scholars like Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Mr. S. M. Ikram, Dr. Mahmood Hussain, Dr. Fazl Ahmed and Mr. Ghulam Rasul Mehr ; the enthusiastic writings of persons like the late Maulana Obaidallah Sindhi, Professor Muhammad Sarwar and Syed Muhammad Mian, and the celebration in the forties of the Tipu Sultan Day and the Ismail Shahid Day in Lahore and other

places, have all drawn the student's attention to the pre-British phase from 1707 to 1831 A. D. (The term pre-British is used here as enveloping those areas which had not passed under the direct and effective rule of the British). Its study is undoubtedly of paramount importance not only because of the ramifications and repercussions it had on certain movements in British India, like the Fraizi and the Wahabi, or because the momentum it released had for reaching effects in providing impetus to certain religious institutions like the Deoband or in developing sects like the Ahli-Hadith and the Ahli-Quran or for providing a set of concepts to the religio-political bodies like the Nadwa and the Jamiat-ul-Ulemai Hind, but also because of the inherent characteristics it evinces (e.g. Muslim political regeneration, religious puritanism, doctrinal interpretation and the general revitalization of theological discipline, etc.) are rapidly drawing the Muslim scholars of the subcontinent in a general and of Pakistan in particular.

Little serious attempt has been made to take cognizance of the rise and growth of Muslim political consciousness under the British Rule. In general surveys of the British Rule in India, sketchy references are made it, sometimes not always objectively, based upon the significance of the Aligarh movement. After the statutory termination of British domination in the subcontinent the British studies (Prof. C. H. Phillips, Prof. T. G. P. Spear, Sir Percival Griffiths) have not added much to general statements about Aligarh and Sir Sayyid Ahmad. The historic contribution which Sir Sayyid Ahmad and the Aligarh leadership made to the rise of Muslim political consciousness cannot be under estimated but it should be remembered that the Aligarh movement is not the end of all this study. There were often forces and factors at work, of which more, presently. Here the general notions which prevail about this movement may be noted if in order to register their fallacy only.

First is the general statement about Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's opposition to the Congress based upon his two famous speeches at Lucknow (17th December, 1887) and Meerut (16th March, 1888). In this statement, Sir Sayyid Ahmad appears as the spokesman of Muslim India and the Muslim opposition to the Congress seems only to have been voiced and propagated by him. The possibility of opposition by other Muslims is excluded. It is true that Sir Syed Ahmad opposed the Indian National Congress (which was neither Indian nor National nor a Congress at that time) vehemently and his attitude moulded Muslim Political opinion to a

large extent, but there was a simultaneous and spontaneous opposition to the Congress from various other Muslim sections in different parts of the country. Moreover despite the influence in the North-West Province and the Panjab Aligarh had not yet acquired on all-India character. (It became so only in the first decade of the 20th Century). Opposition to the congress from areas outside the orbit of Aligarh was as genuine and representative as the opposed body itself. The refusal of the Muhammad Associations at Calcutta and Madras to accept the invitation of the Congress for participation in its deliberations and the general critical tone of the Muslim delegates to its earlier sessions reveal that Muslim opposition was more widespread and articulate than the general statement that it started with Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. To give currency to such a notion is like mistaking a part for the whole.

Secondly the statement that Sir Sayyid Ahmad never looked beyond selfgovernment under British protection. This is like putting the cart before the horse. Sir Sayyid, despite his genuine, maturity and prudent political outlook was not in a position to think of self-government. The British intention regarding India's ultimate political destiny had not been formed yet, they took two to three decades to evolve and to be enunciated; the contemporary non-Muslim demands did not refer to self-government and Sir Sayyid Ahmad, personally convinced of the blessings of the British regime more than any other Muslim leader of the same period, looked at the British rule as permanent and eternal. There is hardly any reference in his private or public utterances which might substantiate the viewpoint that this great Muslim leader envisaged the ultimate self-government of the subcontinent.

The third notion has recently been re-stated in these words: "In his (Sir Sayyid's) whole attitude was implicit the concept of Pakistan. It only needed the prospects of British withdrawal, something which in his day still seemed remote, to bring to the surface." (T. G. P. Spear: *India Pakistan and the West*. 1958 ed. p. 1919). Earlier, similar statements have been made in Pakistan... at the Pakistan Political Science Conference, Lahore, 1950; by Dr. Abdal Hamid in an unpublished doctoral thesis (*Sir Sayyid Ahmad and the genesis of Muslim political separatism*-Panjab University, 1955), and at some public meetings (e.g. Maulvi Salahuddin Ahmad, Lahore, 1955). This notion, therefore, requires an examination.

If by separation is meant the ultimate self-determination of the Muslim nation and its inherent right to organise itself into an independent

Muslim state, then such an idea never stuck Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. A glance at the contemporary political attitude in the West manifests that the idea of self-determination came to be accepted as a general practice at a later date in Europe and elsewhere. Sir Sayyid, being a borrower and transplantor of the ideas and institutions of the West could not have the precursor of such an idea. Moreover, a close study of the census figures of the areas which now comprise Pakistan demonstrates that the Aligarh leader could not have thought in terms of territorial and national separation.

If, on the other hand, separation is taken to imply the fundamental differences in religion, culture, 'orthopraxy', etc., then indeed Sir Sayyid was a champion of separatism. But in that case any Muslim, for no other reason than being a Muslim notwithstanding to what section or denomination he belonged, was essentially a separatist.

One should not fail to consider that the genesis of a political separatism aiming at or leading to a territorial or national separatism may only be discovered in a country where the working of the Western political institutions has taken roots. So long as the democratic system did not operate in the subcontinent the creed of separation could not have been disseminated. Indirect elections were introduced under the 1892 Act, while the constitutional adjustments in 1909 did not amount to 'responsible government'. Sir Sayyid Ahmad died in 1898 A. D.

It is granted that Sir Sayyid Ahmad was a protagonist of Urdu, was opposed to the Muslim participation in the Congress and was responsible for experimentation in the foundation of separate and exclusive Muslim political organizations. But these instances are elements germane to the study of Muslim political consciousness and not sufficient to conclude that he thought in terms of a separate homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent.

There are certain other misconceptions about the Aligarh movement and its chief exponent. They, however, need not detain us. To enumerate some of them :

- (1) Sir Sayyid Ahmad opposed the Congress under the beneficent influence of the English staff of the M. A. O. College (Origin-Congressite).
- (2) Aligarh proved a barrier to the real progress of the Muslim community. The Mussalmans of India would have been much better without Sir Sayyid Ahmad (Origin : Orthodox Muslims).

- (3) Sir Sayyid's religious ideas formed a 'Movement in favour of contemporary British culture' (Origin-Orientalist).
- (4) The Aligarh movement was prompted and promoted by the conservative Britishers, in order to work the imperialistic designs of 'Divide et impera'. (Origin-Congressite).
- (5) Aligarh only succeeded to produce a class of Muslims Loyalists (Origin : Muslim 'nationalists').

A study of the Mussalmans of India in the 19th and 20th centuries assumes the shape of a triangle, the other two sides are non-Muslims, especially the Hindus, and the British Government and public. The elements which may be chosen to study Muslim consciousness have therefore to be divided into two main divisions, factors which display the Muslim position *vis-à-vis* the non-Muslims and those which reveal the Muslim stand point regarding the attitude towards the constitutional developments in the subcontinent and the British public opinion in England. In other words the study is the confluence of the two tributaries, Muslim non-Muslim relations and the gradual evolution of the Anglo-Muslim equation.

The former, taken chronologically, could be classified into three main categories : Hindu-Muslim, Sikh-Muslim and the Christian-Muslim relations which underwent a radical change with the advent of the British. The newly developing relationships demand research into its religious, social, economic and political aspects. Starting in Bengal in 1757 A. D. the area of this study widens with the gradual absorption of other parts of the subcontinent into the British Empire. Despite the lack of systematic studies into this field two concepts have gained currency. First that the Hindu-Muslim equation before the advent of British raj was one of real partnership, unity and cordiality and that the British, conscious of their numerical inferiority and eager to gain the goodwill or at least the implied consent of the majority of the governed, deliberately promoted a policy of Divide and Rule. This concept is so potent and convenient and its protagonists, mostly professional politicians and non-professional historians, have had popular acceptance. It has escaped serious study. The other concept is one which has agitated the Pakistani intellectuals for quite a few years now, *i.e.*, and Anglo-Hindu conspiracy against the Muslims. This may be regarded as both the official and the fashionable viewpoint. 'Clive's victory of Plassey in 1757 which transferred the political control of Bengal into the hands of the E. I. Co. and

set the province on the road to economic ruin, also clarified British policy in India. The conspiracy that led to the defeat and dethronement of Sirajuddaula brought the English and the Hindu together. This Hindu-British alliance against the prevailing Muslim rule was neither accidental nor short-lived. . . . From Clive to Mountbatten we can trace the clear stream of pro-Hindu and anti-Muslim policy of the British in India. This policy ultimately became responsible for the economic, intellectual and political ruin of the Indian Muslims who, for over seven hundred years, had provided the intellectual economic and political leadership in this subcontinent." * History of the Freedom Movement, Vol. I 395, 397). The fashionable view has been expressed by Mr. A. Aziz in his 'Discovery of Pakistan' in which the disastrous consequences of the 'paganism' of Akbar, the abortive attempt of Aurangzeb to re-establish Islamic orthodox values, mode of life and thought and the Anglo-Brahmic conspiracy against the Muslims, has been told in angry, sometimes vituperative diction. Supplementing this concept is the notion of the wilful attempt of the British and the Hindus to distort the History of Muslim rule in India and the 'History of India as told its own historians' has been specially attacked on that score. (Muhammad Tufail, Dr. I. Q. Qureshi in his Presidential Address, History Conference, Lahore, 1952). The latest outburst of this viewpoint in Pakistan (with partial official sanction) was the branding of the events of 1957 A. D. as the first War of Independence. A number of popular essays and a few books were published to popularize and establish this attitude. Historical studies have so far not been advanced to a stage where a judgment on the validity or otherwise of these general assertions could be passed with any degree of confidence. One may venture to point out that this aspect of Indo-Pak history awaits the serious research worker.

The factors which constitute Hindu-Muslim relations are broadly categorized as follows: Hindu-Muslim riots (a sociological study has recently been made in the University of Pennsylvania, no study by any scholar from the subcontinent); educational and economic rivalry for the grasp of official patronage (Dr. A. R. Mallick has produced a monograph based upon a study of the years 1813—1856 in the Bengal Presidency) Religious controversy, *i.e.* Islam *vs.* Hindus and the *Vice versa*. The controversy started in the seventies with the inception of the Arya Samaj and had for reaching repercussions on the relations of the communities. (In the second and third decade of the present century the offensive of the Shuddhi and Sangathan movements and in the shape

of the Tansim and the Tabligh from the Muslim side), the language controversy, constitutional and political competition starting with the formation of the Indian National Congress and culminating in the successful demand for Pakistan ; the Hindu militant nationalism Bankum Chander Chatterji, Lokmany Tilak) ; the partition of Bengal agitation ; various attempts at evolving a Hindu-Muslim modus-Vivendi from the Allahabad Unity Conference (1911) to the breakdown of the Jinnah-Gandhi negotiations—are factors or facts of this vital relationship, a scrutiny of which would throw a flood of light on the study of the Muslim Political consciousness.

The rise of Sikhism under the Moghul Emperors and the attainment of political power by the Sikhs in the 18th Century have attracted scholars. Macauliffe, Hari Ram Gupta, etc. The Ahmadiya-Sikh religious controversy, the Sikh Muslim riots and the anti-Muslim attitude of the Sikh political organizations, though of recent origin and operative in the Punjab only, are some channels into which research could be directed fruitfully.

The religious controversy between the Muslims and the Christian missionaries is, again, of paramount importance. It attracted even the Aligarh leadership. Sir Sayyid wrote against Sir William Muir, Hall against Revd. Imadud Din, Shibli and his Dar-ul-Mussanifin against a host of Christian writers who attacked the doctrines and beliefs of Muslims and the personal life of the Holy Prophet. The name of Muslim writers who defended Islam and were responsible for producing the Muslim apologetics are a legion—Moulvi Mansur, Dr. Wazir Khan, Moulvi Hidayat Rasul and others. Amongst the missionaries, both the Anglican and the Presbyterian wrote copiously—Revd. Pfander, G. W. Thakurdas, Revd. Forman to mention only three from the Punjab.

The religious and non-religious controversies contributed to the rise and growth of Muslim political consciousness. Being a compact community gifted with strong religious susceptibilities, the Muslims pulled themselves together and their leadership suppressed the tendency of joining a common political platform in co-operation with the Indian Peoples.

Between 1857 to 1947 the Muslims were divided amongst themselves regarding the acceptance of or cooperation with British rule. The Aligarh leaders extended a land of friendship but an important section of the community, the Mujaheedeens (known as Wahabis in general) refused to accept the political change. Despite the extensive Wahabi

Trials and other regressive measures the anti-British feelings, were never completely uprooted. It found refuge in the orthodox religious seminaries like the Madrasa-i-Deoband, Saharanpur. The Madrasa derived its inspiration from Shah Waliullah and his family as did the Seminary of Syed Nazir Hussain in Delhi. Maulana Abul Qasim, Mahmudul Hasan and Obaidullah Sindhi were as great moulders of Muslim public opinion as were the Maulavis of the Farangi Mahal at Lucknow—especially Maulana Abdul Bari.

The evolution of public opinion in Britain towards the Mussalmans of India is another vital factor for study. Writings in the British Press, the views of the members of Parliament, the attitude of the Secretaries of State were always watched by the Muslim leadership which was sensitive on this point, and studied it if only to formulate its policies. Mr. K. K. Aziz has studied the reaction of the British Press towards the Pakistan Movement from 1940 to 1947 at the University of Manchester but this field has more extensive potentialities.

Rise and development of political consciousness may also be gleaned from Urdu Literature and historiography. The political poetry of Momin, Ghalib, Hali, Akbar Allahabadi, Shibli Nomani, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal; the novels of Dr. Maulavi Nazir Ahmad Khan, the historical fiction of Abdul Halim Sharar and Muhammad Ali Tabib and others, and the Urdu historiography of Sir Sayyid, Maulvi Zakauallah Hali, Shibli and his Academy are the most importance in this approach to the subject.

Another significant factor is the concern of the Muslims of India for their brethren outside the subcontinent in Egypt, Iran, Afghanistan and especially Turkey. Veneration of the Turkish Khilafat is almost co-existent with the rise of British power in India. It assumed political form from 1855 onwards and did not die out immediately with the abolition of Khilafat in 1924.

Attempts have been made to study the subject from another angle; by study history of Muslim political organizations especially the Muslim League. There are the partisan writings of Muhammad Noman, Mazhar Ansari, Akhtar Hussain, Humayun Kabir and Prof. Cantvel Smith. Two research studies have been conducted outside Pakistan. Dr. Lal Bahadur's doctoral dissertation on the Muslim League is a cursory compilation neglecting most of the source material available. Dr. William Metz (Pennsylvania) has not so far published his work on the League.

Captain M. Yusuf Abbas (P. M. A.) has recently undertaken to explore the history of Muslim political bodies other than the Muslim League. This approach to the subject has been its advantage and limitations. It usually aims at compiling the summaries of the proceeding of the annual sessions but in doing so it provides good secondary indications to a more ambitious worker.

It is customary to classify historical materials into contemporary/primary and non-contemporary/secondary sources. In this study, however, a more direct method of classification is dictated by the nature of sources.

First are the writings of the various leaders who were the founders of certain movements and attitudes. Aligarh, Madwat-ul-Ulema, Orthodox Theological (Deoband/Farangi Mahal) Muslim League, Khilafat, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind and minor religious and political movements have all expressed themselves through their major exponent. With the exception of the Muslim League all other Muslim religio-political movements evince a deep consciousness of their historical significance by recording and publishing the writings, speeches and lectures of their exponents. Access to the private papers of the prominent personalities is rather difficult, even certain biographers have not been allowed to look at them—the most recent instance was that of Hector Bolitho. The private papers of the personalities of the Aligarh and Khilafat movements have been mostly published. These of the former have been exploited to a considerable degree by some of the Urdu writers (Muhammad Tufail and S. M. Ikram). The rest and they form the bulk, are still to be traced and made accessible.

Secondly, the writings on the leaders and the movements. Mostly in Urdu, they are contemporary and non-contemporary, commendatory and condemnatory.

Thirdly, the proceedings of the Muslim organizations like the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference, the Muslim League, The Khalifat, etc. It is a real problem to find the proceedings of the All India Muslim League for the years 1906–1919 and for some old years later.

The paucity of autobiographical materials or memoirs is conspicuous. Perhaps the only three works in English are those of Syed Ameer Ali, Maulana Muhammad Ali and the Late Aga Khan. I have personally

tried to induce some of the elderly politicians of Pakistan to write their memoirs without any success. It may be hoped that some of these gentlemen would now avail their leisure to recollect and pen their political activities. Under the circumstances recourse has to be made to the interview method.

The other sources are the newspapers, journals and periodicals, published and unpublished official documents and the parliamentary papers.

References may also be made to the Bibliographical works already published. They are as follows :—

- (1) A Ghani : Pakistan, A Select Bibliography, Lahore, 1951.
- (2) Muinuddin Ahmad : A Bibliographical Introduction to Modern Islamic Development in India and Pakistan) an unpublished M. A. Thesis for McGill University, 1955.
- (3) Government and Politics of India and Pakistan 1855—1955 a bibliography of the works in the Western languages. (Institute of Asiatic Studies University of California, Cal. 1956).
- (4) North (R) Literature of the N. W. Frontier of India. A Select Bibliography, Peshawar. 1946.
- (5) Kh. Nur Elahi : Iqbal : A bibliography Lahore, 1955.

Ghani's work has a very brief historical section and is practically useless. The Comprehensive California bibliography lists less than one hundred and fifty works relevant to the study.

In the end, I suggest the undertaking of the following studies :—

A. Bibliographical :

- (1) A comprehensive bibliography of the available source materials.
- (2) Selection of important documents pertaining to the history of the Mussalmans of Indo-Pakistan in the 19th and 20th Centuries.

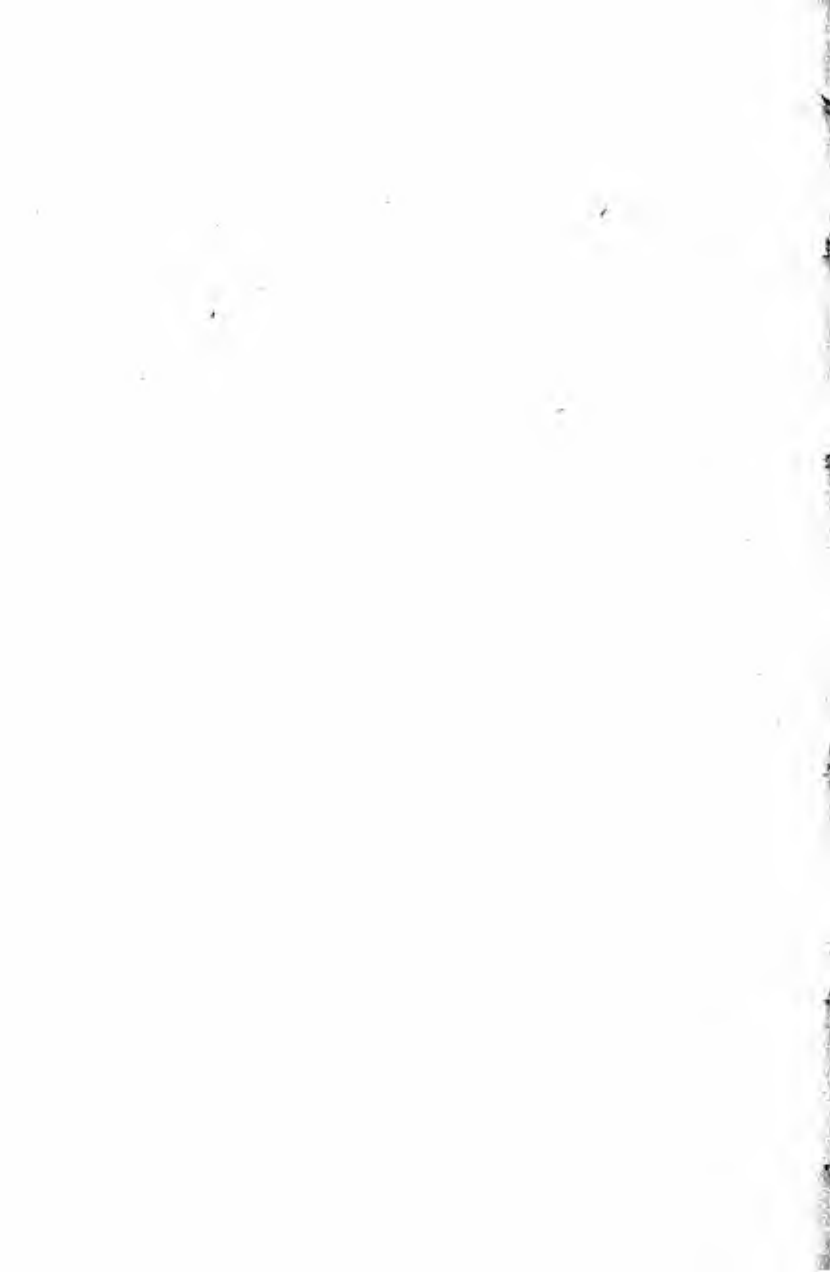
B. Dissertitional :

M.A. or Ph.D. Dissertations could be produced on the following subjects :—

- (1) History of the Muslim-Anglo Samaj Controversy.

- (2) History of the Muslim-Christian Controversy-topic divisible by area and time.
- (3) Muslim sectarian Controversies in Modern India (Shia Sunni ; Ahmaddiya Orthodox. Wahabi non-Wahabi, etc.).
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British Attitude towards the Indian Muslims : a Historical Analysis.
(Presented to the SOAS Seminar on South Asian History in March, 1959).



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CONTENTS

Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 1—106 (1911). ✓

The Tomb of the Emperor Jahangir.—*J. P. Thompson.*

Abdulfazl. *Sh. Abdul Qadir.*

Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort.—*J. Ph. Vogel.*

Vedic Social Life according to the Similes in the Agni Hymns of the Rig Veda. *H. D. Griswold.*

The Shrine of Baba Farid Shakarganj at Pakpattan. *Miles Irving.*

A new Pathan Sultan of Delhi. *R. Whitehead.*

The Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique in the Panjab, 1641. *E. D. MacLagan.*

Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 107—187. (1912). ✓

The Earliest English Visitors to the Punjab, 1585—1628. *E. D. MacLagan.*

A Greco-Buddhist Sculpture in the Lahore Museum. *J. Ph. Vogel.*

Coronations of Muhammadan Sovereigns. *Khan Bahadur Pirzada Muhammad Husain.*

The Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique in the Punjab, 1641. *E. D. MacLagan.*

Historical Rhymes and Proverbs of the Punjab. *J. Ph. Vogel.*

Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 1—95. (1913). ✓

The place of Coins in Indian History. *R. B. Whitehead.*

Dara Shikoh as an author. *Pt. Sheo Narain.*

A Statue of King Kanishka. *J. Ph. Vogel.*

A Historic Elephant-fight. *M. Nur Bakhs,*

Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 97—184. (1914). ✓

Baba Ratan, the Saint of Bhatinda. *J. Horowitz.*

The Indian Origin of the Gypsies in Europe. *A. C. Woolner.*

The Guleria Chiefs of Kangra. *Pt. Hiranand Shastri.*

Jahanara. *G. Yazdani.*

Vol. III, No. I, pp. 1—70. (1914). ✓

Archaeological Discoveries at Taxila. *J. H. Marshall.*

India and Historical Research. *Ramsay Muir.*

The Road between Delhi and Multan. *A. M. Stow.*

The History of the Western Hills. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

The Ranas and Thakurs of the Western Hills. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

✱ Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 71—158. (1915).

Taxila. *Lecture by Sir John Marshall.*

The Punjab Hill States. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

The Site of the Battle of Delhi, 1803. *Sir Edward MacLagan.*

Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 1—75. (1916). ✓

Four Letters by Austin of Bordeaux.

History in its relation to Sociology. *The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Muhammad Shah Din.*

History of Kashtwar State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

The "Koh-i-noor" of 1851. *Pt. Sheo Narain, R. B.*

Pahul (Sikh baptism). *Pt. Sheo Narain, R. B.*

Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 77—149. (1916). ✓

History of Basohli State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

Malana and the Akbar-Jamlu Legend. *G. M. Young.*

An Inscription of the Reign of Ghiyath-ud-din Balban. *R. B. Whitehead.*

History of Bhadrawah State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

The Post Office in the Mutiny.

✱ Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 1—53. (1916).

Mughal Farmans, Parwanahs and Sanads issued in favour of the Jesuit Missionaries. (With twelve plates). *The Rev. Father Felix, O. C.*

Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 55—125. (1916). ✓

Jesuit Missions in Lahore. The Mughal Scals. *The Rev. Father Felix, O. C.*

✱ Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 1—67. (1917).

Ballad on Nadir Shah's Invasion of India, *R. B. Pt. Hari Kishan Kaul.*

Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 69—176. (1917). ✓

Some Notes on Ancient Kulu Politics. *G. C. L. Howell.*

An Unpublished Diary of Sikh Times. *Shaikh Abdul Qadir.*

Influence of the Indian King upon the Growth of Caste. *The Hon'ble Mr. H. J. Maynard.*

History of Nurpur State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

Note on the Routes from the Panjab to Turkestan and China recorded by William Finch (1611). *Sir Aurel Stein.*

General Ventura. *Pt. Sheo Narain, R. B.*

✕ Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 1—89. (1918).

History of Mandi State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

Three Mughal Parwanas. *M. Zafar Hasan.*

The Family of Lady Juliana Dias da Costa. *The Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.*

The Annual Relation of Father Fernao Guerreiro, S. J., for 1607-1608. *The Rev. H. Hosten, S. J.*

Land Revenue Administration under Maharajah Ranjit Singh. *Sita Ram Kohli.*

✕ Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 91—205. (1919).

History of Suket State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

The Struggles of the Hindu Sahi Rulers of Kabul and Punjab against the Central Asian Turks (870—1027). *Gulshan Rai.*

History of Kulu State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

A Journey to Toling and Tsaparang in Western Tibet. *G. M. Young.*

Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 1—102. (1920). ✓

The Ballad of Ram Singh's two Rebellions.

The Ballad of Larn Barn of the Kulu Naggur Tract. *Recorded by C. H. Donald ; edited by Rev. T. Grahame Bailey.*

History of Kangra State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

Addenda to History of Nurpur State.

Daniel Mognie, a forgotten Swiss adventurer in Hindustan (1738—1749). *Translated from the German by the Revs. J. W. Duhr, S.J., and H. Hosten, S. J.*

The Cradle of Graeco-Buddhist Art. *A. Foucher.*

✕ Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 103—206. (1921).

History of Jammu State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

History of Bhadu State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

History of Spiti. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

History of Lahul. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

Notes on the History of Chanehni State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

Notes on the History of Bandhralta State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

Some aspects of Slavery. *Dr. Lakshman Sarup.*
 The historical aspect of some Hamalayan Customs.
 Military Secretariat Records.

Vol. IX, Pt. I, pp. 1—91. (1923). ✓

The Dispersion of the Indo-European Family. *H. D. Griswold.*
 Note on the passage of the Hydaspes by Alexander. *J. Hutchison.*
 Note on the History of the Burning Glass. *Dr. Lakshman Sarup.*
 Ahmad Shah Abdali and a Hindu Swami. *Parmanand Arora.*
 Hasham Shahi. *Bawa Budh Singh.*
 An Autobiographical Memoir of Louis Bourquien. *J. P. Thompson.*
 Facts and Fancies about the Iron Pillar of Old-Delhi. *J. Ph. Vogel.*

Vol. IX, Pt. II, pp. 93—178. (1925). ✓

Material in Inscriptions for the History of Institutions. *Sir John Maynard.*
 History of Punch State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*
 History of Rajauri State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*
 A Note on Five Rare Old Paintings of the Moghul School. *Kanwar Sain.*

Vol. X, Pt. I, pp. 1—94. (1929). ✓

Embassy of Mr. Johan Josua Ketelaar, Ambassador of the Dutch East India Company to the Great Moguls—Shah Alam Bahadur Shah and Jahandar Shah. *Translated from the Dutch by Mrs. D. Kuenen-Wicksteed and annotated by J. Ph. Vogel.*

Vol. X, Pt. II, pp. 1—70. (1929). ✓

Akbar's Popularity. *Parmanand Arora.*
 Surgeon Gabriel Boughton. *Abdul Wall.*
 History of Chamba State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

Vol. XI, Pt. I, pp. 1—53. (1931). ✓

Jaswan State, Guler State, Siba State, Datarpur State, Kutlehr State, Bangahal State. *J. Hutchison.*
 The Unpublished Letters of Sardar Clantar Singh Atariwala. *Jagat Singh.*
 Serai Nur Mahal. *R. B. Pt. Sheo Narain.*
 Padmavati—*A Romance of the Sixteenth Century.*
 Review—"Warren Hastings and Philip Francis".—By Sophia Weitzman. *The Hon'ble Mr. Justice F. W. Skemp.*

JOURNAL OF THE PANJAB UNIVERSITY HISTORICAL
SOCIETY, 1932—1947

(Incorporating the Panjab Historical Society)

CONTENTS

Vol. I, Part I, pp. 1—85 April, 1932.

The Trial of Bahadur Shah II. *Principal H.L.O. Garrett.*

The Revolt in Kashmir, 1946. *R. R. Sethi.*

The Multan outbreak and the trial of Diwan Mul Raj. *Professor Sita Ram Kohli.*

The Sangala of Alexander's Historians. *Dr. J. Hutchison.*

Cyrus the Great and the Indian "Saka" Era. *Professor Gulshan Rai.*

Cornwallis in Bengal. *Professor J. F. Bruce.*

Vol. I, Part, pp. 87—173. December, 1932.

Origins of the First Afghan War. *P. N. Khera.*

Quinquennial Circuits or Transfers of Asoka's Officials. *A.C. Woolner.*

The Trial of Raja Lal Singh 1846. *R. B. Sethi.*

Cyrus the Great, and the Indian "Saka" Era. *Gulshan Rai.*

The Multan Outbreak and the Trial of Diwan Mul Raj. *Sita Ram Kohli.*

Lucknow in 1841. *H.L.O. Garrett*

Captain Manuel Deremao. *H. Bullock.*

Vol. II, Part I, pp. 1—96. April, 1933.

The Sikh Darbar and the First Afghan War. *K.C. Khanna.*

The Voice of History From Living lips. *Ram Chand Manchanda.*

Urdu Journalism. *Bool Chand.*

The Treaty of Bhirowal of Second Treaty of Lahore. *R.R. Sethi.*

The Mughal Province of Multan and its subsequent History. *Gulshan Rai.*

Bombay and Calcutta in 1841. *H.L.O. Garrett.*

An Autograph letter of William Moorcroft. *G.L. Chopra.*

An Autog aph letter of the Elder Pitt. *Ross Wilson.*

Vol. II, Part II, pp. 97—180. December, 1933.

A Brief History of the University of the Panjab. *J. F. Bruce.*

Some Historical Gleanings from old Mission Records. *Ross Wilson.*

- Events leading to the Ambala Expedition. *R.R. Sethi.*
 An Early Scientific Traveller in the Punjab. *H.L.O. Garrett.*
 Four Free-Lance Families. *H. Bullock.*
 The Multan Outbreak of April, 1948. *K.C. Khanna.*
 The Ballads of George Carnac Barnes. *R.R. Sethi.*

Vol. III, Part I, pp. 1—84. April, 1934.

- Further Aspects of Raja Rammohun Roy's Work. *S.K. Datta.*
 The Ambala Campaign, 1863. *R.R. Sethi.*
 Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra. *Sri Ram Sharma.*
 British Policy Towards Sindh, 1834—37. *P.N. Khera.*
 Mutiny Echoes :
 The Mutiny at Cawnpore. *J.F. Bruce.*
 Rickett's Notes on "The Story of Cawnpore".
 A Punjab Saint. *Ram Chand Manchanda.*
 The Story of Anarkali. *C. Grey.*
 Ancient courses of the Punjab Rivers. *Gulshan Rai.*

Vol. III, Part II, pp. 85—165. December, 1934.

- Who Built the Kutub Minar? *Kanwar Sain.*
 Panic of Sir Robert Montgomery, 1863. *R.R. Sethi.*
 The Marriage and Descendants of George Thomas. *H. Bullock.*
 British Policy Towards Sindh, 1939—40. *P.N. Khera.*
 The Persian Language during the East India Company's Rule. *S.M. Abdullah.*
 Thomas Pratt. *C. Grey.*
 Sir Henry Lawrence. *J.F. Bruce.*

Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 1—88. April, 1935.

- The grounds of Political Obedience in the Indian State' *T.G.P. Spear.*
 The Mission to Kandhar 1857—58. *J. F. Bruce.*
 Royal Titles in the Punjab Hills. *J. Hutehison and J. Ph. Vogel.*
 Maharaja Gulab Singh and the Second Sikh War. *R.R. Sethi.*
 The Rise of Sansar Chand. *Sri Ram Sharma.*
 Andrew Dalgleish. *C. Grey.*

Vol. IV, Part II, pp. 89—171. December, 1935.

- Early English Kingship. *C.M.G. Ogilvie.*
 British Policy towards Sindh 1842—43. *P.N. Khera.*
 Ilay and Abyssinia. *J.F. Bruce.*
 The cis-Sutlej States and the First Sikh War. *R.R. Sethi.*

Tarikh-i-Panjab. *Muhammad Baqir Malik*.
First Census of the Punjab, 1855.

Vol. V, April, 1938.

Some aspects of Late Mughal Delhi. *T.G. P. Spear*.

Social Life in the Sikh Kingdom. *P.N. Khera*.

The Historical Background of the present situation in China. *J.F. Bruce*.

India's Contribution to World Civilization. *Lakshman Sarup*.

Vol. VI, pp. 1—110. December, 1940.

The British Advance from the Jumna to Sutlej. *Sunder Lal Bhalla*.

Adina Beg Khan. *Hari Ram Gupta*.

British Policy Towards Sindh. *P.N. Khera*.

The Panjab and the recapture of Delhi, 1857. *V.S. Suri*.

Studies in Indo-Muslim History—A Critical commentary on Elliot and Dowson's. *Ahmad Aziz*.

Vol. VII, pp. 1—89. December, 1941.

The East India Company and Persia 1800—1810. *P.N. Kirpal*.

The British Government and Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1809—1814)
S.L. Bhalla.

Vol. VIII pp. 1—122. April, 1944.

Khalisa Nama. *Bakht Mal*.

Tarikh-i-Sikhan. *Anonymous*.

Sher-o-Shakar. *Daya Ram Pandit*.

Umdat-ut-Tawarikh. *Lala Sohan Lal Suri*.

An unpublished Diary of Sikh Times. *M. Ahmad Baksh Chisti*.

Zafar Nama. *General M. Ventura*.

Zafar Nama Ranjit Singh. *Dewan Amar Nath*.

Tarikh-i-Panjab. *Ghulam Muhayyud Din*.

Khalis Nama. *Rattan Chand*.

Tazkara-i-Multan. *Anonymous*.

Ibrat Nama. *Mufti Ali-ud-Din*.

Waqai-i-Sikhan. *Dewan Ajudhia Parshad*.

Waqai-i-Jang-i-Pheroshahr.

A Narrative of the Battle of Sobrahli (Sabraon.)

Sher Singh Nama. *Muhammad Naqi*.

Vol. IX, p. 42. April, 1946.

A Historical and Political Definition of the Terms Nation, Nationality,
Nationalism and State. *M.S. Vairanapillai*.

Pax Islamica (A study of Pan-Islamic Movements). *Khushwant Singh*.

Vol. X, pp. 1—104. June, 1947.

Some Khalsa Darbar Parwanas.

Akhbarat-i-Sikhan Vol. I, Akhbarat-i-Sikhan Vol. III *Anonymous*

Khird Nama-i-Danish. *Vidya Dhar*.

Vol. X, pp. 1—57. April, 1947.

The Private Correspondence of Sir Frederick Currie. *Jogmohan Mahajan*.

Identification of Sandrakottos. *Jagan Nath*.

A critical Review of Lord Lawrence's Policy of Masterly Inactivity.
Dharm Pal.

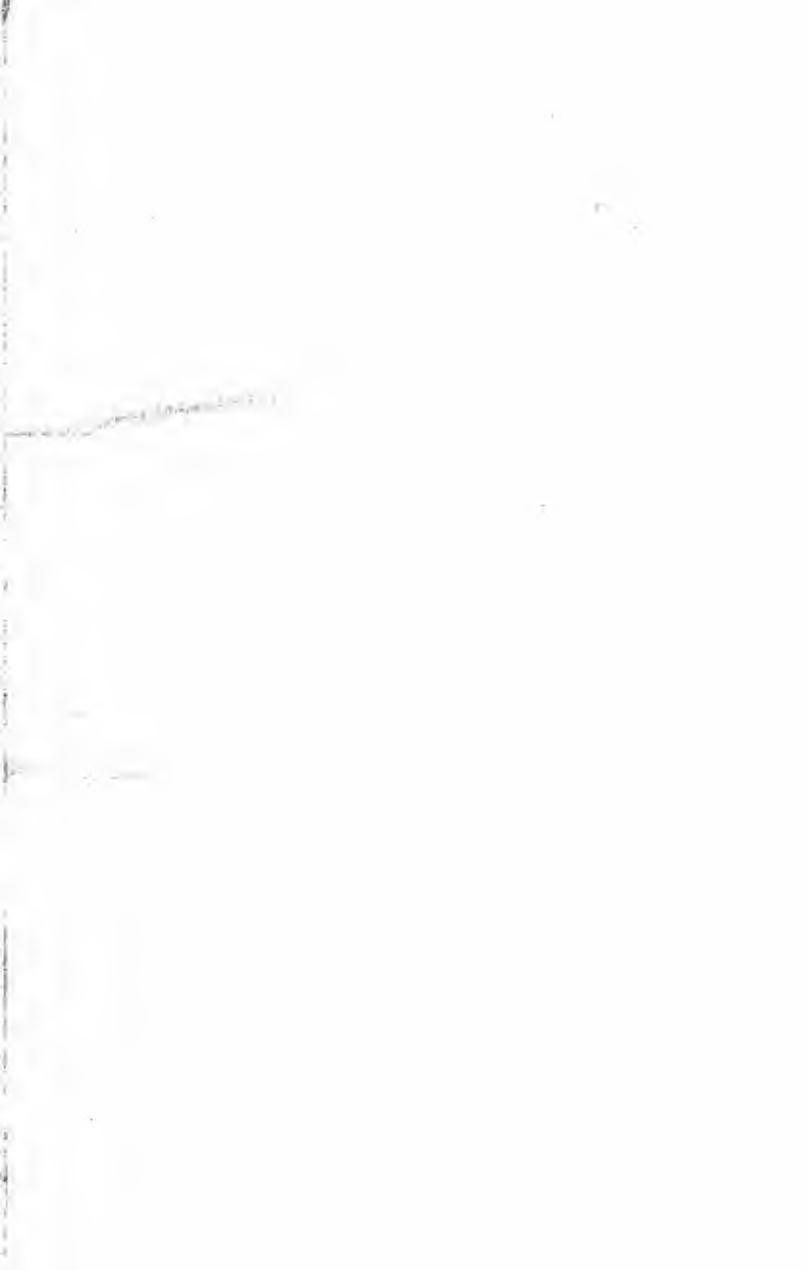
Vol. XI, pp. 1—56, June, 1960.

Baluchistan in Our History. *Anwar Rooman*.

Two Historic Letters. *Dr. Zofaurul Islam*.

Surendranath Banerjea. Syed Ahmad Khan and the British Rule.
M.M. Hashim.

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